

**THE COINAGE OF SALAMIS, CYPRUS,
FROM THE SIXTH TO THE FOURTH CENTURIES B.C.**

by

Kaelyn Ann McGregor
University College, London

Thesis submitted for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Institute of Archaeology
University College, London

1999

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

ABSTRACT

Kaelyn Ann McGregor
University College London

The Coinage of Salamis, Cyprus, from the Sixth to the Fourth Centuries B.C.

This study, based on a full catalogue of the gold and silver coinage, includes discussion of the chronological evidence, historical information, and iconographical significance of the coinage of the mint of Salamis in Cyprus from the late sixth century to the end of the Teucrid dynasty at the end of the fourth century.

The corpus is compiled from major collections throughout Europe and North America. Where possible I have also included coins from private collections and numismatic sales.

The study is divided into three chronological sections: 1) the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.; 2) the coinage of King Evagoras I, and; 3) the fourth century B.C. Within each period the text is divided into six different sub-sections: i) types and iconography; ii) die and fabric study; iii) weight standard; iv) hoard evidence; v) archaeological evidence; and vi) historical evidence.

The evidence compiled in these three sections has produced new conclusions regarding chronology, from the introduction of the city's coinage in the sixth century, to the end of the Teucrid dynasty. An investigation of written sources (ancient authors and inscriptions) and modern scholarship is also important in determining a chronology of the coinage and the dynastic line of Salamis. Historical sources also help in determining the area's economic development and trade relations.

The hoard evidence proves to be not only critical for the study of the sequences of the different series, but also produces significant chronological comparisons regarding the distribution of the material which has important historical significance.

The iconography of the various types on the coinage is also relevant for our understanding of Cypriot religion and its symbolism during the archaic and classical periods. This area of study is particularly relevant for the comparison between the more eastern attributes of the sixth and fifth century with the more hellenised iconography of the fourth.

CONTENTS

Preface.....	1
i. Acknowledgements	1
ii. List of Coins Illustrated	4
iii. List of Maps.....	6
iv. List of Tables and Charts.....	7
v. Abbreviations.....	10
vi. Previous Scholarship	23
vii. Individual Characteristics in the Study of Cypriot Coinage	27
 Chapter One: Introduction.....	 30
 Chapter Two: Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.....	 43
i. Catalogue.....	i
A. Uninscribed	i
B. King Evelthon.....	iii
I. Nominative / Smooth	iii
II. Fractions	xiv
a. uninscribed	xiv
b. <i>e</i>	xix
c. <i>eu</i>	xix
C. King ...noki...?.....	xx
I. ... <i>noki</i>	xx
II. ... <i>weno?ki?</i>	xxi
D. King Evelthon and/or Successors	xxii
I. Ba Ankh	xxii
II. Nominative / Ankh	xxiii
III. Nominative? / Ankh	xxiv
IV. Genitive / Ankh	xxvii
V. Ki Ankh.....	xxix
VI. Ke Ankh.....	xxx
VII. Ko Ru Ankh	xxx
a. without disc and crescent.....	xxx
b. disc and crescent	xxxi
VIII. Basi Eu.....	xxxiii
a. uninscribed reverse	xxxiii
b. <i>sa</i> reverse	xxxiv

IX. Fractions	xxxv
a. blank centre ankh	xxxv
b. <i>ba</i> centre ankh	xxxvi
c. <i>lo</i> centre ankh	xxxvii
d. <i>ku</i> centre ankh.....	xxxvii
E. King Mo...?	xxxix
I. Uninscribed.....	xxxix
II. Mo...	xl
III. Evelthon / Mo...	xl
F. King Phausis	xli
I. Evelthon / Phausis	xli
II. Phausis / Basileos.....	xli
a. without disc and crescent.....	xli
b. disc and crescent, lying left.....	xlili
c. disc and crescent, lying right	xlili
III. Basileo Phausis / Phausis	xliv
a. blank? centre ankh	xliv
b. <i>ba</i> centre ankh	xliv
IV. Basileo Phausis / Basileo?	xliv
V. Basileo Phausis / blank	xlvi
G. Uncertain	xlvi
H. Timile... ?	xlvi
I. King Nikodamos	xlvi
I. Selamini	xlvi
a. <i>ni</i> centre ankh.....	xlvi
b. blank centre ankh.....	xlvi
c. fractions.....	l
II. kalarita.....	li
a. <i>ba</i> centre ankh	li
b. fractions	lii
III. selasi...	lii
IV. Evelthon / Nikotamo	lii
V. Blank corners reverse.....	lii
a. <i>ni</i> centre ankh.....	lii
b. fractions	liv
VI. Ram's Head Reverse	liv
J. King Evanthes	lv
I. Euwateteose / Basi lo -	lv

II. Euwateteose / ba	lvi
III. Euwateteose / Basilewose	lvi
a. sixths	lvi
b. fractions	lvii
IV. ku or e / Basilewose	lvii
a. sixths	lvii
b. fractions	lviii
V. ba ku / ba ku.....	lviii
a. sixths	lviii
b. fractions	lix
VI. Basi Eru.....	lix
VII. Unincribed	lix
ii. Types and Iconography.....	45
iii. Die and Fabric Study	80
iv. Weight Standard.....	97
v. Hoard Evidence.....	121
vi. Archaeological Evidence.....	197
vii. Documentary Evidence	204
viii. Summary	221
Chapter Three: Late Fifth and Early Fourth Centuries.....	246
i. Catalogue.....	lxi
K. King Evagoras I	lxi
Gold (AV)	lxi
I. Full Goat.....	lxi
II. Forepart of Goat.....	lxi
a. ground line	lxi
b. club	lxv
III. Bust of Goat.....	lxvi
IV. Ba Reverse	lxvii
Silver (AR)	lxviii
I. Herakles seated obverse	lxviii
a. no mark.....	lxviii
b. <i>a</i>	lxxi
c. <i>ni</i>	lxxii
d. alpha	lxxii
e. delta	lxxiii
f. uncertain	lxxvii

II. Herakles' head obverse	lxxix
a. no mark	lxxix
b. <i>a</i>	lxxx
c. <i>ka</i>	lxxx
d. <i>ru</i>	lxxxi
e. <i>ta</i>	lxxxiii
f. alpha	lxxxiii
g. caduceus	lxxxv
h. uncertain.....	lxxxvi
III. Fractions	lxxxviii
a. male head / smooth.....	lxxxviii
b. male head / wheel	xciv
c. Herakles' head / wheel	xcvi
ii. Types and Iconography.....	248
iii. Die and Fabric Study	264
iv. Weight Standard.....	278
v. Hoard Evidence	286
vi. Archaeological Evidence.....	303
vii. Documentary Evidence	304
viii. Summary	318
Chapter Four: Fourth Century	329
i. Catalogue.....	xcix
L. King Nikokles (AV)	xcix
I. Staters	xcix
II. Quarter-Staters.....	c
M. King Evagoras II	civ
Gold(AV)	civ
I. Staters	civ
II. Twelfths	cv
Silver (AR)	cvi
I. Didrachms.....	cvi
II. Half Drachms	cix
III. Obols	cx
a. Athena / star of 8 rays.....	cx
b. Athena / star of 16 rays	cxii
Possible attributions:	
c. Athena / Athena	cxii

d. Athena / Aphrodite	cxiii
N. King Pnytagoras	cxiv
Gold (AV)	cxiv
I. Staters	cxiv
II. Twelfths	cxv
Silver (AR)	cxvii
I. Tetradrachm	cxvii
II. Didrachms	cxvii
III. Half Drachms	cxix
a. Aphrodite / Artemis.....	cxix
b. Aphrodite / Aphrodite wearing crown	cxxvi
c. Aphrodite / Aphrodite wearing wreath.....	cxxvi
O. King Nikokreon.....	cxxvii
Gold (AV)	cxxvii
I. Staters	cxxviii
II. Possible Third.....	cxxviii
III. Possible Twelfth.....	cxxviii
Silver (AR)	cxxix
I. Didrachms.....	cxxix
a. Aphrodite NK / Apollo BA.....	cxxix
b. Aphrodite BA / Apollo NK.....	cxxx
II. Half Drachms	cxxx
ii. Types and Iconography	331
iii. Die and Fabric Study	359
iv. Weight Standard.....	372
v. Hoard Evidence	389
vi. Archaeological Evidence	393
vii. Documentary Evidence	399
viii. Summary	404
Chapter Five: Conclusions	418
 <u>Appendices:</u>	
I. Bronze Coinage.....	424
II. Bibliography.....	430
III. Plates I - XLVII	

PREFACE

i. Acknowledgements

Although a student at University College London, a great deal of my gratitude is extended to the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. The Department, along with the Royal Numismatic Society, provided me with an invaluable work space for my research. The staff at the British Museum were not only indispensable, patient advisors and patrons to my work, but good friends and colleagues. Amongst the staff in the Department I would like to thank the late Dr Martin Price who guided me in the early stages of the dissertation; Dr Ute Wartenberg whose constant support not only aided my own research but allowed me to contribute to Departmental projects relating to Greek coinage; Dr Andrew Burnett, who has seen this work through the latest stages and continues to provide excellent guidance; and Dr Jonathan Williams and Andrew Meadows, who have both contributed useful information and advice regarding the text.

A number of people are to be thanked for their supervision and scholarly advice. My supervisor, Dr. Alan Johnston, is to be thanked for reading, analysing and furnishing important references to this work. Furthermore, I wish to express deep gratitude to a number of scholars who have been forthcoming with advice, constructive criticisms, and encouragement. These people include: Dr Peter Guest, Professor Harold Mattingly, Dr. Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, Mr. Jonathan Kagan, Mr. Henry Kim, Dr. Jeffrey Spier, and Dr. Antigone Zournatizi.

A number of institutions were important in aiding my research in a variety of ways. The Institute of Classical Studies, London, The British Museum,

Department of Coins and Medals, The American Numismatic Society, and the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute were the key centres where research was undertaken. The American Numismatic Society, the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, the A.G. Leventis Foundation and University College, London are to be thanked for their contributions towards the funding of research and travel expenses.

A number of public and private numismatic collections not only provided access to material, but at times provided casts and photographs, all crucial to the process of the die study. These institutions and their helpful and patient staff members include: The British Museum, Dr. M.J. Price and U. Wartenburg; The American Numismatic Society, Dr. Carmen Arnold-Biucchi; Bibliothèque Nationale, Dr. Michel Amandry and Dr. Dominique Gerin; The Cyprus Museum, Dr. Pavlos Flourentzos; The Ashmolean Museum, Dr. Christopher Howgego and Henry Kim; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Dr Mark Blackburn and Dr Koray Konuk; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Dr H.-D Schultz; Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Dr Maria Iacovou; Manchester Museum, Dr K.F. Sugden; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Ms Florence Wolsky; Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, Ms Cecilia Meir; Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University, Dr J.D. Bateson; the Royal Collection, Leiden; Staatliche Münzsammlung München, Dr Dietrich Klose; Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, Dr F. de Callataÿ; and Sotheby's London, Mr Tom Eden. Special thanks for materials should also be extended to Mr. Jonathan Kagan, Dr Jeffery Spier, Mr. A Pitsallides, and Mr A. Spaer.

Moreover, I wish to thank all the students in International Hall, University of London, whom I have gladly looked after as Vice Warden for so many years. There is no doubt that my employment by this institution added a number of years to my research, but in the end I would not have had it any other way. The

friends and extended family I found within the staff and students will be part of my life forever and I wish to thank them, for better or worse, for keeping me young at heart. I would particularly like to thank my best friend, Dr Angela Speck, for putting up with me especially in these final stages.

Above and beyond all however, I wish to thank my parents, Gerald and Audrey McGregor, whose never-ending unconditional love and support made this work possible. It is to them that this project is dedicated.

Kaelyn A. McGregor

London, March 1999

ii. List of Coins Illustrated

For details on coins 1-874, please see catalogue.

1-13, 21	I
22-45	II
46-69	III
70-83	IV
103-111, 115-124	V
126-165	VI
168-174	VII
176, 178-183, 185-189, 191	VIII
192-199, 201-208	IX
209-223, 225	X
227-232, 234-235, 238-246.....	XI
247-262, 265	XII
266-271	XIII
272-286, 288	XIV
289-311	XV
313-319, 321-333, 335	XVI
336-356	XVII
358-389	XVIII
390-396, 398-403, 406-410.....	XIX
411-422, 424-435	XX
436-465	XXI
466-495	XXII
496-523	XXIII
525-542	XXIV
543-566	XXV
567-580, 583	XXVI
584-608, 614-623	XXVII
627-635, 638-644, 646-647	XXVIII
650-679	XXIX
682-699	XXX
700-708, 710-727	XXXI
728, 732-735	XXXII
736-747	XXXIII
748-759, 761-768	XXXIX
769-788, 800-801	XXXV
802-817, 819-822	XXXVI
823-827	XXXVII
412, 414, 529, 563.....	XXXVIII

Enlarged Illustrations:

135, 174, 176a, 178.....	XXXIX
--------------------------	-------

212, 216, 227, 230	XL
270, 271	XLI
318, 347, 356, 358, 471	XLII
738, 470, 758, 827	XLIV

Other Mints:

A. Marium, BM 1934 5-110-1, 10.76 g.	XLV
B. Delphi (ACGC, no. 413)	XLV
C. Delphi (Mon. & Méd., Sept. 1991, no. 703)	XLV
D. Uncertain Cyprus, Lion Series, BM 1971 5-13-9, 9.98 g.	XLV
E. Uncertain Cyprus, Lion Series, BM 1934 10-17-3, Larnaca, 10.24 g.	XLV
F. Idalium, BM 1902 1-3-1, BMC 1, 10.85 g.	XLV
G. Idalium, BM 1870 11-2-7, BMC 13, 10.88 g.	XLV
H. Citium?, BM 1870 11-2-32, BMC 1, 10.92 g.	XLV
I. Uncertain Cyprus, Lion Series, BM 1927 10-3-2, 9.90 g.	XLV
J. Uncertain Cyprus, Lion Series, BM 1935 1-10-1, Larnaca, 9.91 g.	XLV
K. Lapethus, BM 10-17-2, Larnaca, 10.79 g.	XLV
L. Paphus, BM 1870 11-2-35, BMC 13, 10.16 g.	XLVI
M. Citium, BM 1912 10-13-1, 10.83 g.	XLVI
N. Citium, BM 1912 10-13-4, 10.84 g.	XLVI
O. Paphus?, BMC Devon 216, BMC 1 (Paphus), 11.12 g.	XLVI
P. Uncertain, Cyprus?	XLVI
Q. Uncertain, Cyprus?	XLVI
R. Pericles, Käppeli Collection, Basel, 9.85 g.	XLVI
S. Issus, ANS (Waggoner 1976, no. 2)	XLVI

Bronze Issues:

T. Nikokles, Ashmolean (BMC, p. civ, no. 2)	XLVII
U. Evagoras II, BM 1853 7-16-280, BMC 72, 2.78 g.	XLVII
V. Evagoras II, BM 1903 12-5-1, 4.57 g.	XLVII
W. Evagoras II, BM 1925 1-5-66, 2.27 g.	XLVII
X. Unattributable Bronze, Leiden, ex. Six collection	XLVII
Y. Unattributable Bronze, BM 1967 11-9-1, 2.52 g.	XLVII

iii. List of Maps

1. Cyprus.....39

2. The Eastern Mediterranean40

3. The Mediterranean.....41

iv. List of Tables and Charts

Types/Inscriptions Tables

2.ii.1	Inscriptions on coins of King Phausis	59
2.ii.2	Possible transliterations of Nikodamos, <i>ka-la-ri-ta</i> Series.....	63
3.iii.5	Inscriptions and Added Details of Group K, AR Series I, Thirds	271
3.iii.6	Inscriptions and Added Details of Group K, AR Series II, Staters ..	272

Die Sequence Tables

2.iii.1	Series B.I. Staters.....	81
2.iii.2	Series D.II Staters.....	84
2.iii.3	Series D.III Staters	85
2.iii.4	Series D.III Sixths.....	85
2.iii.5	Series D.IV Staters	86
2.iii.6	Series D.VII Staters.....	87
2.iii.7	Series D.IX.a 24ths	88
2.iii.8	Series D.IX.b 12ths.....	89
2.iii.9	Series D.IX.d 12ths	89
2.iii.10	Group E Staters.....	90
2.iii.11	Group F Staters	91
2.iii.12	Series I.I and I.II Thirds	92
2.iii.13	Group I Sixths	93
2.iii.14	Group I 12ths	94
2.iii.15	Group J Staters	95
3.iii.1	Group K, AV Series II, Thirds	265
3.iii.2	Group K, AV Series III, Sixths	266
3.iii.3	Group K, AR Series I, Thirds	268
3.iii.4	Group K, AR Series II, Staters	270
3.iii.7	Group K, AR Series III.a, 12ths.....	274
3.iii.8	Group K, AR Series III.a, 24ths.....	275
3.iii.9	Group K, AR Series III.c, 48ths	275
3.iii.10	Group K, AR Series III.b, 12ths	276
3.iii.11	Group K, AR Series III.c, 12ths	277
3.iii.12	Group K, AR Series III.c, 24ths	277
4.iii.1	Group L, Series I, Staters	359
4.iii.2	Group L, Series II, Quarter Staters.....	360
4.iii.3	Group M, AV Series II, Twelfths.....	361
4.iii.4	Group M, AR Series I, Didrachms	362

4.iii.5	Group M, AR Series II, Half Drachms.....	363
4.iii.6	Group M, AR Series III.a and b, Obols.....	364
4.iii.7	Group N, AV Series I, Staters	365
4.iii.8	Group N, AV Series II, 12ths	366
4.iii.9	Group N, AR Series II, Didrachms	367
4.iii.10	Group N, AR Series III, Half Drachms.....	369
4.iii.11	Group O, AV Series I, Staters	369
4.iii.12	Group O, AR Series I.a, Didrachms.....	370
4.iii.13	Group O, AR Series I.b, Didrachms.....	371
4.iii.14	Group O, AR Series II, Half Drachms	371

Weight Charts

2.iv.1	Group A Staters	97
2.iv.2	Series B.I Staters.....	98
2.iv.3	Series B.I Thirds	99
2.iv.4	Series B.I Sixths	99
2.iv.5	Series B.II Fractions	100
2.iv.6	Series B.II 12ths	100
2.iv.7	Series B.II 48ths	101
2.iv.8	Group C Staters	101
2.iv.9	Series D.I Staters	102
2.iv.10	Series D.II Staters.....	103
2.iv.11	Series D.II Sixths	103
2.iv.12	Series D.IV-D.VII Staters	104
2.iv.13	Series D.IX Fractions	105
2.iv.14	Series D.IX 12ths	106
2.iv.15	Groups A-D Staters	107
2.iv.16	Groups A-D Thirds	108
2.iv.17	Groups A-D Sixths	109
2.iv.18	Groups B and D 12ths	109
2.iv.19	Groups B and D Fractions	110
2.iv.20	Group E Staters.....	111
2.iv.21	Group F Staters	112
2.iv.22	Group I Thirds and Sixths.....	113
2.iv.23	Group I 12ths	113
2.iv.24	Group J Staters	114
2.iv.25	Group J Sixths	114
2.iv.26	Group J 12ths	115
2.iv.27	Groups A - J Staters.....	116
2.iv.28	Groups A, B, D and I Thirds	117
2.iv.29	Groups A - J Sixths	118
2.iv.30	Groups B, D, I and J Fractions	118
3.iv.1	Group K, AV Series I and II, Thirds and Sixths	278

3.iv.2	Group K, AR Series I, Thirds	280
3.iv.3	Group K, AR Series II, Staters	281
3.iv.4	Group K, AR Series III.a, Fractions.....	282
3.iv.5	Group K, AR Series III.b, Fractions	283
3.iv.6	Group K, AR Series III.c, Fractions	283
3.iv.7	Group K, AR Series III.a-c, Fractions.....	284
4.iv.1	Group L, Series I, Staters	372
4.iv.2	Group L, Series II, Quarter Staters	373
4.iv.3	K.AV.II and L.AV.II Quarter Staters	374
4.iv.4	Group M, AV Series II, 12ths	375
4.iv.5	Group M, AR Series II, Didrachms.....	376
4.iv.6	Group M, AR Series III.a and b, Obols.....	377
4.iv.7	Group N, AV Series I, Staters	378
4.iv.8	Group N, AR Series II, Didrachms	379
4.iv.9	Group N, AR Series III, Half Drachms.....	380
4.iv.10	Group O, AV Series I, Staters	381
4.iv.11	Group O, AR Series I, Didrachms.....	382
4.iv.12	Group O, AR Series II, Half Drachms	383
4.iv.13	M.AV.I, N.AV.I and O.AV.I, Staters.....	384
4.iv.14	M.AV.II, N.AV.II and O.AV.II, 12ths	385
4.iv.15	M.AR.I, N.AR.II and O.AR.I, Didrachms	386
4.iv.16	M.AR.II, N.AR.III and O.AR.III, Half Drachms.....	387

Hoard Tables and Charts

2.v.1	Late 6th - 5th Century Cypriot Coins in Hoards	168-174
2.v.2	Coins of Salamis in Late 6th - 5th Century Hoards.....	176-177
2.v.3	Mint Composition of Hoards Containing Late 6th - 5th Century Cypriot Coins.....	191-192
2.v.4	Areas of Dates and Hoards Containing Late 6th - 5th Century Cypriot Coins.....	190
2.v.5	Weights of Cypriot Staters in Asyut, Larnaca and Dali Hoards	195

v. Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	<i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i>
ACGC	C.M. Kraay, <i>Archaic and Classical Greek Coins</i> , 1976
ADelt	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJN	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
Amandry 1986	M. Amandry, 'A propos du trésor de Chypre, 1934/35 (IGCH 1277)', <i>CEC</i> 6 (1986), pp. 37-38
Amandry 1992	M. Amandry, <i>Acquisitions récentes de monnaies chypriotes au Cabinet des Médailles</i> , <i>CEC</i> 17 (1992), pp. 19-22
ANS	American Numismatic Society
ANSMN	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i>
ARCA	<i>Annual Report of the Curator of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
Arch. Rep.	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>
Asyut	M.J. Price & N. Waggoner, <i>Archaic Greek Silver Coinage: The Asyut Hoard</i> , 1975
ATL	B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery, & M.F. McGregor, <i>The Athenian Tribute Lists</i> , III, 1950
Babelon 1893	E. Babelon, <i>Les Perses Achéménides</i> , 1893
Babelon 1897	E. Babelon, 'Inventaire de la collection Waddington', <i>RN</i> , 1897, pp. 261-368

Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1	E. Babelon, <i>Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines</i> , II, 1, 1910
Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2	E. Babelon, <i>Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines</i> , II, 2, 1910
Babelon 1930	J. Babelon, <i>Catalogue de la Collection de Luynes, Monnaies Grecques</i> , 1930
Baldwin	A. Baldwin, 'Symbolism on Greek coins', <i>AJN</i> 49 (1915), pp. 89-194
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
Beloch II or III	K.J. Beloch, <i>Griechische Geschichte</i> , II & III
BM	British Museum
BMC	G.F. Hill, <i>British Museum Catalogue, Cyprus</i> , 1904
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
Borrell	H.P. Borrell, <i>Notice sur quelques Médailles grecques des Rois de Chypre</i> , 1936
Brett	A.B. Brett, <i>Museum of Fine Arts: Catalogue of Greek Coins</i> , 1955
Brown & Catling	A.C. Brown & H.W. Catling, <i>Ancient Cyprus</i> , 1986
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
BSFN	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique</i>
Burn	A.R. Burn, <i>Persians and the Greeks. The Defence of the West, c. 546-478, B.C.</i> , 2nd ed., 1984
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CCEMAB 1991 or 1994	<i>Cypriote Coinage from Evelthon to Marc Antonio Bragadino</i> , 1991 and 1994
CEC	<i>Centre d' Etudes Chypriotes</i>

Cesnola	A. Palma di Cesnola, <i>Salaminia</i> , 1882
CH	<i>Coin Hoards</i> (I-VIII)
Combe	T. Combe, <i>Veterum Popularum et Regum Numi qui in Museo Britannico Adservantur</i> , 1814
Comstock & Vermeule	M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, <i>Greek Coins 1950-1963</i> , 1964
Cook	J.M. Cook, <i>The Persian Empire</i> , 1983
Costa	E.A Costa, 'Evagoras I and the Persians ca. 411 to 391 BC', <i>Historia</i> 23 (1974), pp. 40-56
Cox	D.H. Cox, 'Coins from the excavations at Curium, 1932-1953', <i>ANSNM</i> 145 (1959)
CRAI	<i>Comptes-rendus de l' Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres</i>
Deecke	W. Deecke, 'Die griechisch-kyprischen Inschriften in epichorischer Schrift', in H. Collitz (ed.), <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt- Inschriften I</i> , 1883
de Longpérier	A. de Longpérier, 'Monnaies du Sérapéum de Memphis. Trouvaille de Myt-Rahineh', <i>RN</i> 1861, pp. 407-428
de Luynes	H. de Luynes, <i>Numismatique et Inscriptions Chypriotes</i> , 1852
Destrooper-Georgiades 1982	A. Destrooper-Georgiades, 'A "coinhoard" of Pnytagoras of Salamis from the Athienou-Arsos region', <i>NRC</i> 13 (1982), pp. 101-103
Destrooper-Georgiades 1984	A. Destrooper-Georgiades, 'Le Trésor de Larnaca (IGCH 1272) Réexaminé', <i>RDAC</i> 1984, pp. 140-160
Destrooper-Georgiades 1988	A. Destrooper-Georgiades, 'Two Cilician hoards of the fourth century', <i>RBN</i> 1988, pp. 19-39

Destrooper-Georgiades 1989	A. Destrooper-Georgiades, 'Les Monnaies Chypriotes dans la Collection d'Adonis Kyrrou', <i>ADelt</i> 36 (1981), pp. 199-208.
Destrooper-Georgiades 1990	A. Destrooper-Georgiades, in <i>Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities, Cypriote Antiquities in Belgium</i> , 1990, <i>SMA</i> XX: 13, pp. 15-20
Dikaïos 1935	P. Dikaïos, 'A hoard of silver Cypriot staters from Larnaca', <i>NC</i> 1935, pp. 167-179
Dikaïos 1961	P. Dikaïos, <i>A Guide to the Cyprus Museum</i> , 1961
Dray & du Plat Taylor	E. Dray & J. du Plat Taylor, 'Tsambres and Aphendrika, two classical and hellenistic cemeteries in Cyprus', <i>RDAC</i> 1951, pp. 24-123
Dressel	H. Dressel, 'Altgriechischer Münzfund aus Ägypten', <i>ZfN</i> 1900, pp. 231-258
Dressel & Regling	H. Dressel & K. Regling, 'Zwei ägyptische Funde altgriechischer Silbermünzen', <i>ZfN</i> 1927, pp. 1-138
Eckhel	J.E. Eckhel, <i>Doctrina Nummorum Veterum</i> , 1839
FGH	F. Jacoby, (ed.), <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , 1923-1958
FHG	C. Müller, (ed.), <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , 1841-1870
Friedlander	J. Friedlander, <i>Das Königliche Münzkabinet</i> , 1873 and 1877
Gardner	P. Gardner, <i>Types of Greek Coins</i> , 1883
Given	M.J.M. Given, <i>Symbols, Power, and the Construction of Identity in the City-Kingdoms of Ancient Cyprus, c. 750-312 BC.</i> , 1991

Gomme	A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes & K.J. Dover, <i>A Historical Commentary on Thucydides</i> , I-IV, 1945-1981
Greenwell	W. Greenwell, 'On a find of archaic Greek coins in Egypt', NC 1890, pp. 1-12
Grose	S.W. Grose, <i>Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins</i> III, 1929
Head 1873	B.V. Head, 'The Greek autonomous coins from the cabinet of the late Mr. Edward Wigan, now in the British Museum', NC 1873, pp. 89-124
Head 1889	B.V. Head, <i>Coins of the Ancients</i> , 1889
Head 1911	B.V. Head, <i>Historia Numorum</i> 2nd ed., 1911
Hill 1914	G. F. Hill, 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1913', NC 1914, pp. 97-109
Hill 1921	G. F. Hill, 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1920', NC 1921, pp. 161-178
Hill 1924	G. F. Hill, 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1923', NC 1924, pp. 1-18
Hill 1925	G. F. Hill, 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1924', NC 1925, pp. 1-21
Hill 1929	G. F. Hill, 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1928', NC 1929, pp. 181-190
Hill 1940	G.F. Hill, <i>A History of Cyprus</i> , vol. I, 1940
Hornblower	S. Hornblower, <i>The Greek World, 479-323 BC</i> , 1991
HPN	F. Bechtel, <i>Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Keiserzeit</i> , 1917

Hurter & Pászthory	S. Hurter and E. Pászthory, 'Archaischer Silberfund aus dem Antilibanon', <i>Studies in Honor of Leo Mildenberg</i> , 1984, pp. 111-126
ICS	O. Masson, <i>Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques</i> , 1983 (2nd ed.)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , 1873-
IGCH	M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, and C. M. Kraay, (eds.), <i>An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards</i> , 1973
Imhoof-Blumer	F. Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Monnaies grecques</i> , 1883
INC	<i>International Numismatic Convention</i>
Jameson I, III or IV	<i>Collection R. Jameson. Monnaies Grecques Antiques</i> , 1913 -
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
Jenkins	G.K. Jenkins, <i>Gulbenkian Collection</i> , 1989
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
Kagan	J.H. Kagan, 'An archaic Greek coin hoard from the eastern Mediterranean and early Cypriot coinage', <i>NC</i> 1994, pp. 17-52
Kagan & McGregor	J.H. Kagan & K.A. McGregor, 'The coinage of King Phausis of Salamis', <i>CEC</i> 23 (1995-1), pp. 3-10
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , 2nd ed., 1966-1969
Karageorghis 1965	V. & J. Karageorghis, 'The Meniko hoard of silver coins', <i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i> 1965, pp. 9-36
Karageorghis 1967	V. Karageorghis, <i>Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I</i> , 1967

Karageorghis 1970	V. Karageorghis, <i>Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis II</i> , 1970
Karageorghis 1973	V. Karageorghis, <i>Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis III</i> , 1973
Kraay 1956	C.M. Kraay, 'The archaic owls of Athens, classification and chronology', <i>NC</i> 1956, pp. 43-68
Kraay 1962	C.M. Kraay, 'The Celenderis Hoard', <i>NC</i> 1962, pp. 1-15
Kraay, <i>CH VII</i>	C.M. Kraay, 'Near East, 1980', <i>CH VII</i> , pp. 38-39
Kraay & Hirmer	C.M. Kraay & M. Hirmer, <i>Greek Coins</i> , 1966
Kraay & Moorey	C.M. Kraay and P.R.S. Moorey, 'Two fifth century hoards from the Near East', <i>RN</i> 1968, pp. 181-225
Lang	R.H. Lang, 'On coins discovered during recent excavations in the island of Cyprus', <i>NC</i> 1871, pp. 1-18
Lewis	D.M. Lewis, <i>Sparta and Persia</i> , 1977
Maier	F.G. Maier, 'Factoids in Ancient History: The Case of Fifth-Century Cyprus', <i>JHS</i> 105 (1985), pp. 23-39
Markoe	G.E. Markoe, 'Egyptianizing Male Votive Statuary from Cyprus: A Reexamination', <i>Levant</i> 22 (1990), pp. 111-122
Masson & Amandry	O. Masson & M. Amandry, 'Notes de numismatique chypriote, VI-VIII', <i>RN</i> 1988, pp. 27-41
ML	R. Meiggs & D.M. Lewis, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> , 1969, revised 1988
McDonald	G. McDonald, <i>Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection II</i> , 1901
Meiggs	R. Meiggs, <i>The Athenian Empire</i> , 1972

Mildenberg & Hurter	L. Mildenberg and S. Hurter, <i>The Arthur S. Dewing Collection of Greek Coins</i> , 1985
Mionett	T.E. Mionett, <i>Description de Médailles Antiques, Grecques et Romaines</i> , 1808-1838. Supplement, 1833
Mitchell	B.M. Mitchell, 'Cyrene and Persia', <i>JHS</i> 86 (1966), pp. 99-113
Murray, Smith & Walters	A.S. Murray, A.H. Smith and H.B. Walters, <i>Excavations in Cyprus</i> , 1900
Naster	P. Naster, <i>La collection Lucien de Hirsch. Catalogue des monnaies grecques</i> , 1959
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
Newell, <i>AJN</i> 1914	E.T. Newell, 'Some Rare or Unpublished Greek Coins', <i>AJN</i> 48 (1914), pp. 61-72
Newell, NC 1914	E.T. Newell, 'A Cilician find', <i>NC</i> 1914, pp. 1-33
Nicolaou 1989	I. Nicolaou, 'More information about the Arsos (Larnaca District) hoard', <i>RDAC</i> 1989, pp. 139-140
Noe	S.P. Noe, <i>A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards</i> , <i>NNM</i> 78 (1937)
NNA	<i>Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift</i>
NNM	<i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>
NRC	<i>Numismatic Report, Cyprus</i>
NZ	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>Opus. Arch.</i>	<i>Opuscula Archaeologica</i>
<i>Opus. Athen.</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>
Osborne	M.J. Osborne, <i>Naturalization in Athens I</i> , 1981-2
Parayre	D. Parayre, 'Les cachets ouest-sémitiques à travers l'image du

	disque solaire ailé (perspective iconographique)', <i>Syria</i> 1990, pp. 269 ff.
Payne Knight	R. Payne Knight, <i>Nummi Veteres. Civitatum, Regum, Gentium, et Provinciarum, Londini in Museo Richardi Payne Knight Asservati</i> , 1830
Pellerin	J. Pellerin, <i>Recueil de Médailles de Peuples et de Villes</i> , 1763
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
Price 1969	M.J. Price, 'Greek coin hoards in the British Museum', <i>NC</i> 1969, pp. 1-14
Price 1977	M.J. Price, 'Mit Rahineh (1860): IGCH 1636', <i>CH</i> III, 1977, pp. 6-8
RBN	<i>Revue belge de numismatique</i>
RDAC	<i>Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , W. Kroll (ed.), 1893
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
Regling	K. Regling, <i>Die Griechischen Münzen der Sammlung Warren</i> , 1906
Reyes	A.T. Reyes, <i>Archaic Cyprus</i> , 1994
RN	<i>Revue numismatique</i>
Robinson 1923	E.S.G. Robinson, <i>Catalogue of Ancient Greek Coins Collected by Godfrey Locker Lampson</i> , 1923
Robinson 1935	E.S.G. Robinson, 'Notes on the Larnaca hoard', <i>NC</i> 1935, pp. 180-190
Robinson 1950	E.S.G. Robinson, 'A "Silversmith's Hoard" from Mesopotamia', <i>Iraq</i> 12 (1950), pp. 44-51

Robinson 1973	E.S.G. Robinson, 'A hoard of Greek Coins from southern Anatolia?', RN 1973, pp. 229-327
SCE I	E. Gjerstad, J. Lindros, E. Sjöqvist, A. Westholm, <i>The Swedish Cyprus Expedition 1927-1931</i> , I, 1934
SCE II	E. Gjerstad, <i>Swedish Cyprus Expedition</i> , II, 1935
SCE III	E. Gjerstad, J. Lindros, E. Sjöqvist, A. Westholm, <i>Swedish Cyprus Expedition III (Finds and results of the excavations 1927-1931)</i> , 1937
SCE IV	E. Gjerstad, <i>Swedish Cyprus Expedition</i> , IV, part 2 (<i>The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Periods</i>), 1948
Schaeffer	Cl.F.A. Schaeffer, 'Une trouvaille de monnaies archaïques grecques à Ras Shamra', <i>Mélanges Syriens offerts à M.R. Dussaud</i> , 1939, pp. 461-479
Schlumberger	D. Schlumberger, 'L'argent grec dans l'empire achéménide' in R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, <i>Trésors monétaires d' Afghanistan</i> , 1953, pp. 1-64
Schmidt	E.F. Schmidt, <i>Persepolis II, Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries</i> , 1957
Seaby	Seaby's, January 1960, 'A hoard of ancient Greek coins from Egypt', pp. 9-10
Six 1883	J.P. Six, 'Des séries chypriotes', RN 1883, pp. 249-373
Six 1890	J.P. Six, 'Monnaies grecques, inédites et incertaines', NC 1890, pp. 185-259
SM	<i>Schweizer Münzblätter</i>
SNG	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i>

SNG, Aarhus	<i>SNG, Aarhus University Denmark, H.E. Mathiesen (ed.), 1986</i>
SNG, Aberdeen	<i>SNG, Great Britain V. 1, pt. 2: University of Aberdeen. Anthropological Museum, The Norman Davis Coins in the Wilson collection of classical and eastern antiquities, Marischal College, Aberdeen, 1936</i>
SNG, Copenhagen	<i>SNG, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, 1956</i>
SNG, Delepierre	<i>SNG, France, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Collection Jean et Marie Delepierre, 1983</i>
SNG, Fitzwilliam	<i>SNG, Great Britain: IV, i-viii, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1965</i>
SNG, Lockett	<i>SNG, Great Britain III, The Lockett Collection, 1938</i>
SNG, Manchester	<i>SNG, Great Britain VII: Manchester University Museum, The Raby & Güterbock Collections, 1986</i>
SNG, von Post	<i>SNG, Sweden 1:2, Sammlung Eric von Post, 1995</i>
SNR	<i>Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau</i>
Spyridakis	<i>K. Spyridakis, Euagoras I von Salamis, 1935</i>
Stucky	<i>R.A. Stucky, 'Zum Münzschatz von Ras Shamra - Ugarit - Leukos Limen (Syrien)', SNR 1984, pp. 5-16</i>
Stylianou	<i>P.J. Stylianou, 'The age of the kingdoms: a political history of Cyprus in the archaic and classical periods', in Μελεται και Υπομνηματα II, 1992</i>
TINC	<i>Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress</i>

Tod	M.N. Tod, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> , II, 1948
Troxell	H.A. Troxell, 'Carrians in Miniature', <i>Studies in Honor of Leo Mildenberg</i> , 1984, pp. 249-257
Troxell & Spengler	H.A. Troxell and W.F. Spengler, 'A hoard of early Greek coins from Afghanistan', <i>ANSMN</i> 15 (1969), pp. 1-19
Vermeule	C.C. Vermeule, 'Ram cults of Cyprus', <i>RDAC</i> , 1974, pp. 151-154
Vermeule AJA 1974	C.C. Vermeule, 'Cypriote Sculpture, the Late Archaic and Early Classical Periods: Towards a More Precise Understanding', <i>AJA</i> 78 (1974), pp. 287-290
Vlamis 1973	B.E. Vlamis, 'Hoards of Cypriot coins found in Cyprus and elsewhere', <i>NRC</i> 1973, pp. 62-64
Vlamis 1974	B.E. Vlamis, 'Hoards of Cypriot coins Found in Cyprus and elsewhere', <i>NRC</i> 1974, pp. 74-77
Vlamis 1980	B.E. Vlamis, 'Coin hoards of Cypriot coins found in Cyprus and elsewhere', <i>NRC</i> 1980, pp. 81-86
von Prokesch-Osten	A. von Prokesch-Osten, <i>Inedita meiner Sammlung autonomer altgriechischer Münzen</i> , 1854
von Sallet	A. von Sallet, 'Die Münzen der griechischen Könige von Salamis in Cypem und die denselben zugetheilten modern Fälschungen', <i>ZfN</i> 1875, pp. 130-137
Waggoner 1976	N.M. Waggoner, 'Three recent Greek accessions', <i>ANSMN</i> 21 (1976), pp. 1-5

Waggoner, Rosen	N.M. Waggoner, <i>Early Greek Coins from the Collection of Jonathan P. Rosen</i> , 1983
Warren	Col. F. Warren, 'Notes on coins found in Cyprus', NC 1891, pp. 140-145
Waters	K.H. Waters, <i>Greek Coins in the University of Tasmania</i> , 1981
Weber 1896	H. Weber, 'On some unpublished or rare Greek coins', NC 1896, pp. 1-33
Weber	L. Forrer, <i>Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Greek Coins fromed by Sir Herman Weber, M.D. 1823-1918</i> , 3 vols., 1922-9
Westermarck	U. Westermarck, 'Notes on the Saida hoard', NNA 1970/80, pp. 22-34
Wroth	W. Wroth, 'Greek coins acquired by the BM in 1888', NC 1889, pp. 249-324
ZfN	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i>

vi. Previous Scholarship

One of the earliest known and most important collections of Cypriot coinage belonged to a 19th century French collector, the Duc de Luynes. Although de Luynes collected coins from all over the Greek world, his special interest in Cypriot coins led to one of the first publications to include detailed descriptions of archaic and classical coins of Cyprus – *Numismatique et inscriptions Chypriotes* published in 1852 and written by the Duke himself. The de Luynes collection, which was eventually given to the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, was later published by J. Babelon, *Catalogue de la Collection de Luynes*, in 1924 and figures largely in catalogues published by E. Babelon.¹

The next major collector of Cypriot coinage was the Belgian, J.P. Six. His collection (and others known to him at the time), which now resides in the Royal Coin Cabinet in Leiden, Holland, was catalogued by the collector and published in 1883 ('Des séries chypriotes', RN) in a very thorough essay with surprising accuracy for such an early study.

The two most important studies of Cypriot numismatics to date were both published at the turn of the century and are both detailed and annotated publications of the two largest collections of Cypriot coins in Europe. E. Babelon's brilliant volumes of the coins in the Cabinet des Médailles, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, II, published in 1910 set the standard for later publications of major collections. His sections on the archaic and classical coins of Cyprus (1: 569 ff. and 2: 691 ff.) included firm attributions which have stood the test of time. This was not Babelon's first attempt at an analysis of the Cypriot issues as his *Les Perses Achéménides, les satrapes et les dynasties*, published in 1893

¹ For other early scholarship, see O. Masson, 'Notes de numismatique chypriote, IX-X', (IX - 'Le monnaies de Chypre avant Borrell (1836) et de Luynes (1852)'), RN 1991, pp. 60-65.

was a valiant, yet sometimes flawed, examination of the coinages of the eastern Mediterranean.

The second crucial work was the *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Cyprus in the British Museum*, written by G.F. Hill and published in 1904. In order to produce a thorough account of the sometimes very rare issues of the island, Hill supplemented the catalogue with coins from outside the Museum as some issues were not represented in the collection at the time. Consequently this work is one of the most comprehensive texts and as yet unsurpassed. Hill's greater knowledge of the island's history was later manifest in the publication of one of the first and again most comprehensive histories of the island, *History of Cyprus* (1940). This text remains one of the best, if not the most objective, political history of archaic and classical Cyprus.

The most prolific archaeological account of the island was published by E. Gjerstad and his team of Swedish archaeologists in the 1930s. This multi-volume work, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition I - V*, is valuable to an extent for the numismatist in regard to site-finds of the coins. As coins are rarely found *in situ*, however, the archaeological evidence tends to be more important in the areas of trade and local artistic traditions. The Expedition's numismatic findings have later been analysed by A. Destrooper-Georgiades in *Archaeologia Cypria* I (1985).

Certain hoards are invaluable to the study of the chronology of the region's issues and in this respect a number of articles should be noted as having contributed greatly. P. Dikaïos' 1935 record of the Larnaca Hoard ('A hoard of silver Cypriot staters from Larnaca', NC), for example, displayed a valuable recognition of the importance of precise records. Also, J. and V. Karageorghis' very detailed publication of the Meniko Hoard in 1965 (*Opuscula Atheniensia*) is crucial to the understanding of fractional coinages in Cyprus in the late fifth century.

However, V. Karageorghis' greatest contribution to the present thesis must be his publications of the excavations at the necropolis on the site of Salamis itself, which he oversaw as Head of the Department of Antiquities in the 1960s. Within two of the volumes, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis* II (1970) and III (1973), B. Helly's appendix, 'Les Monnaies', on the coin finds includes detailed listings of the coins and their exact provenance.

O. Masson's inclusion of Cypriot coins in *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* (1961 and rev. 1983) is an indispensable tool in the decipherment of the sometimes perplexing Cypriot syllabic inscriptions on the coins of Salamis. Furthermore, his 'Notes de numismatique chypriote' published in *Opuscula Atheniensia* and *Revue Numismatique* from the 1960s until very recently provide invaluable examinations of the problems relating to Cypriot numismatic issues. Particularly important to this study is his joint article with M. Amandry in 'Notes de Numismatique Chypriote, VI-VIII', (RN 1988) where a catalogue of the extant coinage of King Evagoras I is compiled for the first time. This remains the only attempt at a comprehensive catalogue of the coinage of any of the kings of Salamis.

Work has also been recently published by A. Destrooper-Georgiades, whose articles publishing small private collections of Cypriot coins are basic to any comprehensive catalogue of a Cypriot mint. Her work has included such collections as the Adonis Kyrou collection (*ADelt* 36, 1981) and the Cypriot coins included in the *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities in Belgium* (SMA 20, 1990).

A new and invaluable resource to Cypriot numismatics is the collection of Cypriot coins amassed by the Bank of Cyprus. This collection is now displayed in a new gallery in Nicosia dedicated to Cypriot coinage. A number of the coins in this collection were published by Maria Iacovou in 1991 and 1994 in *Cypriote Coinage from Evelthon to Marc Antonio Bragadino*.

Any examination of a Cypriot mint is greatly aided by historical analyses relating to the archaic and classical periods. While Hill's *History of Cyprus* remains the standard text, two more recent publications are noteworthy. In 1992 N. Stylianos published his work entitled 'The Age of Kingdoms: A Political History of Cyprus in the Archaic and Classical Periods' (Μελεται και Υπομνηματα II), which is invaluable in its detailed references to ancient sources. The second is A. Reyes' 1994 publication, *Archaic Cyprus*, which provides an essential analysis of the archaeological and textual evidence for the archaic period.

vii. Individual Characteristics and Problems

With this apparent healthy interest in archaic and classical Cypriot coinages through the decades, one wonders why scholars have avoided compiling detailed die studies of the individual mints. Have the unanswered questions seemed too overwhelming, or have most scholars had more common sense than the current author?

One major problem with archaic Cypriot coinage is the fact that there are a number of early issues, no doubt dating from the middle of or third quarter of the sixth century, which have yet to be attributed to a particular mint. These sometimes bizarre early coins are identified as Cypriot by their syllabic inscriptions, but their exact origin is often a mystery. One should not overlook the possibility that one or more of these 'uncertain' issues belong to the mint of Salamis; however, as none of these early 'uncertain' types can be linked to the earliest attributable types of Salamis, the question must remain unanswered.

Attribution is less of a problem with the case of the earliest coins which may be firmly attributed to Salamis. Save one or two issues, the main sixth and fifth century coins are all identifiable by the name of the king inscribed on the issues. The fact that the coins are often inscribed with the name of the issuing authority is, however, not always an indication of the location of the particular mint. Most of the regal names inscribed on the early coinages of Cyprus are not known to us from other sources. Fortunately for Salamis, however, this is not the case, as what appears to be one of the earliest issues is inscribed with the name of Evelthon who is well known to us as a Salaminian from Herodotus (see p. 205 ff.).

Furthermore, many such early inscriptions are merely very abbreviated forms of the name of the king. For example, the earliest coins of the mint of

Paphus display a series of abbreviated legends, such as King (Ba) A..., King Pn..., and King Pnu... If it were not for later, more secure issues, these elusive monarchs would still be without provenance. Chronologically, the opposite seems to be true at Salamis. It is the earliest inscribed coinage from the mint which includes the full name of King Evelthon, while abbreviations of the name of the reigning monarch only occur at the end of the fifth century.

The syllabic inscriptions themselves are often difficult to interpret. The Cypriot syllabary tends to be rather bulky and complicated in design and not well suited for the tiny areas reserved for inscription. Quite often it is very difficult, even after the coin is photographically enhanced, to discern a particular character. To add to the problem, some of the signs themselves, especially those used on the earliest issues, have never been securely evaluated, even by Masson (*ICS*). A problem in this particular study is the coinage of the supposed issuer Mo..., whose three syllabic inscriptions are challenging to say the least.

Study of the dies of fifth century Cypriot coinages also poses a number of problems. Firstly, many of the issues are still quite rare and thus a search for a die match often proves fruitless. Secondly, even if one does have a number of specimens of a particular issue, it seems to have been the practice at a number of Cypriot mints to use the dies into well advanced states of wear. While a die study involving a flawed die can often be profitable, with this particular mint of Salamis the dies tend not to show increasing flaws, but just an increasing state of dullness and lack of detail. This phenomenon, of course, can hamper a die study tremendously since die and coin wear become difficult to separate. Thirdly, the obvious hazard in any attempt to die-link the early coins of Salamis is the fact that the earliest issues incorporate a smooth reverse type. Although some

reverse 'dies' can be matched, linking dies to one another overall is almost impossible.

The documentary evidence for the period, while a welcome adjunct to the study, is also, at times, problematic. In the case of Salamis, while we are lucky to be able to match one of our issuers' names to a historical figure (Evelthon), two other problems arise. First, it is obvious from the hoard evidence that some of the coins inscribed with the name of the famous King Evelthon were issued posthumously. Second, the names of at least four of his successors which are known to us from ancient sources, do not appear to be inscribed on what should be contemporary corresponding issues. Furthermore, some issues, which certainly date to this period, incorporate inscriptions which do not seem to relate to any names which we know from historical sources.

Moreover, the fifth century coinage of Salamis is characterised by a variety of sometimes very subtle alterations in type and inscription. As we do know a respectable amount about the tumultuous political situation on the island at the time, it is tempting to try to relate historical events, such as a change of local dynast or a change in allegiance from Persia to Athens, to the change in the coins themselves. We must be careful, however, not to assume that we know all such possible occasions and must bear in mind that, assumptions along these lines are very hazardous. This examination will offer suggestions as to possible historical repercussions reflected in the numismatic evidence, but will also make it clear where sufficient evidence is lacking for firm conclusions to be drawn.

Chapter One

Introduction

There can be no greater testament to the historical significance and antiquity of Cypriot coinage than the numismatic evidence unearthed during the excavations of the foundation of the Apadana at Persepolis.¹ This deliberate foundation deposit included three archaic Cypriot silver staters alongside two other Greek coins from the *poleis* of Aegina and Abdera. The foundation deposit can be dated no later than 515,² and this combined with the stray find of an early issue of the mint of Salamis in the Treasury itself (see p. 197), demonstrates that at this early date the coinage of Cyprus travelled great distances and was accepted as a legitimate form of currency, alongside three of the most productive archaic coining areas: Aegina, Thrace and Sardis (eight gold Croeseids were also found in the deposit).

What is also clear at this early, fixed date in the sixth century,³ is the fact that at least one of the Cypriot mints represented in the deposit, Paphos, had seen development in its coinage before the burial at Persepolis, as the issue found was certainly not the earliest of the mint.

Given the abundant hoard evidence for a comparatively early appearance of Cypriot coinage, one must question why the study of Cypriot numismatics has been restricted to inclusion within the publication of major collections, publications of hoards and short articles in numismatic journals. No die nor mint study of any of the individual mints has ever been published.

It seems, therefore, appropriate that one should begin with an individual mint study of the island's most historically important kingdom: Salamis. This

¹ Schmidt, pp. 113-114.

² All dates in this dissertation are B.C. unless denoted otherwise.

³ There has been a great deal of debate regarding the date of this deposit. For a recent summary see Kagan, pp. 36-43.

city begat one of the most abundant, interesting, lively, and at times artistically advanced coinages, produced without significant interruption from the third quarter of the sixth century until the end of the Teucrid dynasty at the end of the fourth.

This study is based primarily on the catalogue of gold and silver issues of the mint, although bronze issues will be discussed in the Appendix.

i. Historical Introduction

There can be little doubt that the kingdoms of archaic Cyprus began minting their own coin issues in the second half of the sixth century; but with the evidence currently available, when exactly this phenomenon took place cannot be assessed. One may posit that, in all likelihood, certain mints, not all of which can be identified, began production in the third quarter of the century – the evidence for which will be discussed in Chapter Two.

The history of Salamis reflects its geographical position in the eastern Mediterranean. Lying on the east coast of Cyprus (see Maps, pp. 39-41), just south of the Karpass peninsula, Salamis was in easy travelling distance of the coast of the Levant and an obvious stopping-off place for any merchant travelling from east to west or vice-versa. The geographical position of the island, neighbouring not only the Levantine coast, but close to Egypt and the Cilician coasts as well, must have been the reason behind its strong maritime traditions and renowned ship-building abilities.⁴

In addition to the island's prime position for trading contacts, natural resources, especially timber, grain and raw metals such as copper, provided a

⁴ Hdt. 7.90; Plin., *HN* 7.56, 208; Xen. *Cyrop.* 7.4.1-2; 8.6.8; Strabo, 14.6.5; Diod. 2.16.6; L. Basch, *Le Musée imaginaire de la marine antique*, 1987, pp. 249-262; K. Westerberg, *Cypriote Ships from the Bronze Age to c. 500 B.C.*, 1983, pp. 19-69; SCE IV, pp. 459-460.

strong export industry which allowed the island to flourish as a supplier as well as a trade centre.⁵

Salamis is known to history as an essentially Greek foundation,⁶ most likely settled by mainland Greeks at the very end of the second millennium B.C.⁷ During the Bronze Age, there is no doubt that the Greek language was spoken on the island.⁸ One must note, however, that three different ethnic groups of peoples inhabited the island and probably already co-existed there in the Bronze Age. These three groups, the Greeks, Phoenicians and the island's indigenous population, the 'Eteocypriots', have all left significant archaeological evidence, most notably examples of their individual languages. It is clear now, however, that the extant 'Eteocypriot' epigraphic documents date to the fourth century and not before⁹; and the fact that there is no strong evidence for an 'Eteocypriot' society in the area of Salamis, makes it doubtful that they played a role in the city's history.

There is, however, sufficient evidence for at least a minority population of Phoenicians within the kingdom of Salamis during the archaic and classical periods. Evidence for Phoenician peoples living or trading (or both) at Salamis is strong and can be dated as early as the late tenth or early ninth century.¹⁰ In

⁵ Ezek. 27.6-7; Ath. 2.48b; Paus. 8.5.3; Plut. *Alex.* 32; R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, 1982, pp. 397-7; J.V. Thirgood, *Cyprus: A Chronicle of its Forests, Land, and People*, 1987.

⁶ Pseudo-Skylax 103, 'Cyprus, opposite Cilicia is the island of Cyprus, and these are the poleis in it: Salamis, which is Greek...'; E. Gjerstad, 'The colonization of Cyprus in Greek legend', *Opus. Arch.*, 3 (1944), pp. 107-123; G.A. Wainwright, 'A Teucrian at Salamis in Cyprus', *JHS*, 83 (1963), pp. 146-151.

⁷ For foundation myths see E. Gjerstad, 'The initial date of the Cypriot Iron Age', *Opus. Arch.* 3 (1944), pp. 73 ff.; H. Catling, 'Discussion', *The Mycenaeans in the eastern Mediterranean* (1972), pp. 34-39.

⁸ Evidence from the 11th century from Paphos: F.G. Maier & V. Karageorghis, *Paphos*, 1984, p. 134, 137; *ICS*, p. 408, no. 189.

⁹ Reyes, p. 17.

¹⁰ Y. Calvet, 'Sur certains rites funéraires à Salamine de Chypre', *Salamine de Chypre, histoire et archéologie*, 1978, pp. 115-21.

terms of whole settlements, however, there is no evidence for any Phoenician population centre on Cyprus before the ninth century foundation of Citium.¹¹

The history of the Cypro-Archaic period leading down to our particular period of study is characterised by successive eras of foreign annexation: first Assyrian, then Egyptian and finally Persian. To what extent these overlords were able to control the individual Cypriot kingdoms and influence the material culture of the island is a source of lively debate. Traditional arguments, championed by Gjerstad, maintain that these successive subjugations by foreign rulers had profound effects on the cultural constitution of the island and led to serious ethnic rivalries within the island itself.¹² More recently, however, scholars (most notably Reyes, *Archaic Cyprus*, 1994) have questioned this caustic narrative and opted to portray the foreign relations of archaic Cyprus as far less antagonistic in nature. Reyes' arguments are twofold, based on the concepts of control itself and outside spheres of cultural influence. He has suggested that foreign control of Cypriot kingdoms was on a tributary basis,¹³ possibly based on alliances and mutually beneficial trade associations rather than direct domination.¹⁴ Moreover, Reyes has argued, based on his own observations and those of others such as Vermeule and Markoe,¹⁵ that 'influences as reflections of foreign domination may more plausibly be the result of close interaction with the Phoenician coast or else local innovations.'¹⁶

¹¹ V. Karageorghis, *Kition*, 1976, p. 95; SCE IV, p. 436 ff.

¹² SCE IV, pp. 449-78.

¹³ The Stele of Sargon II specifically states that the 'seven kings of the land of Ia' (Cyprus) 'paid tribute of gold, silver, [vessels of] ebony, boxwood, the treasure of their land to Babylon to my presence...' Furthermore, there is no evidence for Assyrian governors on Cyprus itself. See Reyes, p. 52 ff.

¹⁴ Reyes, pp. 54 and 76.

¹⁵ Vermeule, *AJA* 1974, pp. 287-290, Vermeule argued that the 'Cypro-Egyptian' sculpture evolved out of the 'Cypro-Greek' style; Markoe, pp. 111-122, Markoe further argues that Egyptianizing Cypriot sculpture is actually influenced by sixth century Phoenician sculpture.

¹⁶ Reyes, pp. 4-5.

The earliest known documentary reference to the city of Salamis dates to the second quarter of the seventh century at which point the island was paying tribute to the Assyrian royal house. Amongst the ten kings and kingdoms of Cyprus listed on one of the prisms of Esarhaddon,¹⁷ scholars have suggested two possibilities for the inclusion of the kingdom of Salamis: *Sillua*, whose ruler was Kisu, or *Silli*, ruled by King Eresu.¹⁸ Assyrian rule lasted until the end of the seventh century, when in c. 612 the empire collapsed leaving the kingdoms of Cyprus free of exterior control.¹⁹ It is during this period, the end of Cypro-Geometric to the first half of the Cypro-Archaic periods, when the individual kingdoms of Cyprus, including Salamis, developed their unique character and, in the case of Salamis, pivotal position in the eastern Greek world. Testament to Salamis' importance and wealth in the archaic period is provided by the archaeological evidence. The Salaminian royal tombs of the so-called Teucrid dynasty are rich in decoration and wealth, and these royal burial chambers were used regularly into the sixth century.²⁰

After what appears to be a half-century of autonomy,²¹ Salamis again fell under the authority of an outside power. Although there are arguments as to the extent of rule,²² King Amasis of Egypt 'conquered' Cyprus in approximately 569.²³ For the first time, our textual evidence of the history of Cyprus derives

¹⁷ R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, 1956, p. 60; D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria II*, 1927, no. 690, p. 266.

¹⁸ Gjerstad, SCE IV, p. 450.

¹⁹ CAH III, pt. 3, p. 64.

²⁰ V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis, I-V*, 1967-1973.

²¹ As opposed to Gjerstad's 'hundred years of independence' (c. 660-560): SCE IV, p. 451.

²² Again, Reyes argues (p. 76 ff.) that 'political relations between Amasis and Cyprus were less hostile than normally assumed from Hdt. 2.182.2'.

²³ Arguments surrounding the date of conquest: Gjerstad, SCE IV, p. 467, n. 3: c. 570 for archaeological reasons: 'it seems necessary to date conquest before 560, because sculptures of Ethiopian and Egyptian type which can hardly be earlier than the Egyptian conquest were found in Ayia Irini on the fourth floor, which cannot be later than c. 560'. This argument may no longer be valid as it has been rightly argued that Egyptianizing influences in Cypriot sculpture may not derive directly from Egypt, but rather Phoenicia; See Markoe, pp. 111-122; However, the date is likely to be correct: see Reyes (p. 76) who argues that the textual evidence points to a date early in the reign of Amasis.

from Herodotus (2.182.2), who explains that Amasis 'seized Cyprus, the first man to do so, and compelled it to pay tribute'.²⁴ Egyptian political influence, however, was not long lasting and came to an end with the island's absorption into the Persian Empire in c. 525 – details of which will be discussed in Chapter Two.

What was once thought to be a strong Egyptian cultural interference in Cypriot art and architecture in the sixth century²⁵ is now under re-examination. The diffusion of Egyptian artistic influence throughout Cyprus is problematic. Traditionally it has been thought that the 'Cypro-Egyptian' style evolved during the years of direct Egyptian control of the island.²⁶ Not only is the chronology incorrect, as it is likely that Egyptianizing motifs and artistic styles were incorporated into the unique artistic repertoire well before this event, but it is now clear that the influence of Egypt was less direct than hitherto assumed. Styles and motifs that were once thought to be Egyptian are now known to have been filtered through Phoenicia.²⁷

There is no doubt that Phoenician presence and cultural influence on Cyprus occurs well before the middle of the sixth century.²⁸ The evidence not only lies in the extant epigraphic evidence, but in the ceramic, sculptural and glyptic.²⁹ The local Phoenician artistic centres imported Levantine raw materials such as cornelian, green jasper and sard which led to the creation of workshops renowned in the Cypriot gem tradition.³⁰

²⁴ Diod. 1.68.6 also records the event.

²⁵ Gjerstad, *SCE IV*, p. 467 ff.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 464.

²⁷ Vermeule, *AJA* 1974, pp. 287-290; Markoe, pp. 111-122; Reyes, pp. 144-145.

²⁸ Gjerstad, *SCE IV*, p. 462.

²⁹ P.M. Bikai, 'The Phoenician Imports', in V. Karageorghis *et al.*, *Excavations at Kition, IV*, 1981, p. 23; V. Wilson, 'The Kouklia Sanctuary', *RDAC* 1974, pp. 139-146; D. Ussishkin, 'Observations on the Architecture of the 'Royal' Tombs in Salamis', *PEQ* 101 (1971), pp. 92-102; J.L. Myres, 'Notes on the 'Prison of Saint Catherine' at Salamis in Cyprus', *Archaeologia*, 66 (1914-15), pp. 179-194; Reyes, p. 127 ff.

³⁰ J. Boardman, 'The Cypriot Contribution to Archaic Greek Glyptic', in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age*, 1989, pp. 44-47.

The period that this investigation will encompass stretches from the later half of the Cypro-Archaic II Period (CA II 600-475) to the end of the Cypro-Classical Period (I 475-400; II 400-325). Although there were many brief periods of rebellion, our era is one of Persian political colonisation of Salamis. As that of the previous two overlords, previous to the Ionian Revolt, Persian domination was informal and allowed the Cypriot kingdoms a great deal of local autonomy. It has further been argued that contrary to traditional beliefs, the Cypriot shift of loyalty to the Persian Empire would have been based on sound economic considerations rather than fear of military threat.³¹

The second half of sixth century is marked by the increasing cultural influence of one very important outside sphere: the Hellenic world. This is not to say that there was no Greek influence prior to this date; on the contrary, Euboian ceramics were imitated at Salamis from the tenth century to the early Cypro-Archaic period,³² a phenomenon which must have been fuelled by the Greek trading centres at Tarsus and Al Mina, and the 'Greek' city of Salamis must have been a very important intermediary post. Attic imports are also well attested in the seventh century by the presence of SOS amphorae at Salamis.³³ Subsequently, during the late seventh century, Salaminian ceramic tradition is markedly influenced by Eastern Greek designs.³⁴ By the end of the sixth century, the specific centres of influence can be attributed to Attica and the Eastern Greek territories.³⁵

³¹ Reyes, p. 89.

³² J.N. Coldstream, 'Early Greek Visitors to Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean', in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Early Iron Age*, 1989, pp. 90-96.

³³ A.W. Johnston and R.E. Jones, 'The "SOS" Amphora', *BSA*, 1978, pp. 113-144, 121, 141.

³⁴ J.N. Coldstream, 'The Greek Geometric and Plain Archaic Imports', in V. Karageorghis *et al.*, *Kition IV*, p. 19, no. 14; V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1986', *BCH*, 1987, pp. 725, 727; Y. Calvet & M. Yon, 'Salamine de Chypre et le commerce ionien', in *Les Ceramiques de la Grèce de l'est et leur diffusion en occident*, 1978, p. 50; M. Yon, 'Céramiques grecques et imitations chypriotes', in H.A.G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, 1984, p. 236.

³⁵ Reyes, p. 132 ff., 140-142.

There is abundant evidence that throughout Cyprus an artistic revolution of sorts occurred in the middle of the sixth century. Before this time, indigenous art forms and practices, albeit influenced by a number of eastern art forms (Phoenician, Assyrian and Egyptian), were unique to Cypriot workshops. In the second half of the sixth century, however, the Hellenic canon begins to work its way into the Cypriot artistic mentality. This is clearest in the island's prolific production of terracotta sculptures,³⁶ localised pockets of black-figure ceramic production,³⁷ a prosperous industry of metal vessels,³⁸ and certain Cypriot glyptic workshops which were no doubt heavily influenced by East Greek figurative motifs.³⁹ It should be no surprise to the scholar of sixth century Cyprus that this was the environment in which tradeable currency was first minted in Cyprus; after all, the minting of coins was essentially a phenomenon unique to Greek civilizations bordering the Mediterranean.

Any numismatic study must present some sort of analysis of the coinage's issuing authority; and central to our examination is the nature of Cypriot kingship itself. There can be no doubt that every issue produced at the mint of Salamis, during the reign of the Teucrid dynasty, was issued ultimately under the control of the King. Almost every Salaminian coin type records not the name of the *polis* (with one fifth century exception), but the issuing authority by name, and those that do not can be fairly well attributed on other grounds to one of the reigning monarchs of the Salaminian royal household.

The foundation myth of Salamis revolves around dynastic claims to the throne of Salamis which belonged to the royal dynasty of Teucer, a Greek hero of

³⁶ SCE IV, pp. 94-129; Vermeule, *AJA* 1974, pp. 287-90; P. Gaber-Saletan, *Regional Styles in Cypriote Sculpture: The Sculpture from Idalion*, 1986, pp. 57-62; Reyes, p. 33.

³⁷ M. Yon, 'Céramiques grecques et imitations chypriotes', in H.A.G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, 1984, pp. 234-238; V. Karageorghis, 'The Princeton Amphoriskos of the Amathus Style', *RDAC* 1990, pp. 121-125.

³⁸ H. Matthäus, *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern*, 1985, p. 356.

³⁹ J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 1968, pp. 130-132.

the Trojan epic and descendant of Herakles. Certainly the foundation of the city can be dated to the approximate period of the settlements of the 'sea peoples' in the 12th century B.C., although this is no place for the debate, it is likely that the connection to a heroic figure is nothing more than later political creation.⁴⁰

The evidence, textual and archaeological, points to a monarchy steeped in regal autocratic control. The royal tombs of Salamis reveal burial practices in the archaic period which hark back to heroic Bronze Age traditions in the Aegean Greek world. The tombs are not only rich in precious materials which recall the spoils excavated in the strata of Mycenae, but reveal Homeric burial rituals. One must suppose that whatever forces allowed mainland Greek communities to evolve into public-governed republics, they did not effect the Cypriot kingdoms.⁴¹

This opulent material culture must have been equally influenced by the Assyrian royal court as there are certainly a number of comparisons to be made between eastern royal burial practice and material evidence and that of Salamis.⁴² Although one must be very cautious about stereotyping these eastern monarchs,⁴³ later written evidence of the classical period also portrays the sovereign kings as ostentatious despots surrounded by luxury and flatterers, not unlike the royal oriental courts of their overlords.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Hdt. 7.90: 'Their tribes are these: some are from Salamis and Athens, some from Arcadia,...'; Aeschylus, *Persae*, 895-96; Euripides, *Helen*, 87-88, 148-150.

⁴¹ We know that kings were in control of Cypriot kingdoms as early (or as late as) the end of the Late Bronze Age: C. Baurain, *Chypre et la méditerranée orientale au Bronze Récent*, 1984; R.S. Merrilles, *Alashia Revisited*, 1987.

⁴² D. Ussishkin, 'Observations on the Architecture of the 'Royal' Tombs in Salamis', *PEQ* 101 (1971) compared Salaminian tombs with those of the necropolis at Silwan in Jerusalem.

⁴³ See Hornblower, *CAH VI*, 2nd ed., p. 47.

⁴⁴ *SCE IV*, p. 452.

PAGE/PAGES
EXCLUDED
UNDER
INSTRUCTION
FROM
UNIVERSITY

Chapter Two

The Sixth and Fifth Centuries: Uninscribed down to King Evanthes

The coinage in this chapter is divided into ten different 'issuing authorities' or groups, prefaced by the letters A-J. The groups are constructed by their more obvious differences or similarities, e.g. some groups will be separated because of their type combination, inscription or added details. Fractional issues will always be listed separately where connections cannot be made to the groups of larger denominations.

Group A is represented by those staters which are uninscribed but carry the same types as those issued under the name of King Evelthon (Group B) with a smooth reverse type, and contains staters, thirds, sixths and fractional denominations. The third group (C. ...noki...) consists of staters that retain the smooth reverse type but use recut dies presumably from Group B.

The fourth group (D), like Group B, was issued under the name of King Evelthon, although a reverse type now appears. Like those with the smooth reverse, this group consists of staters, thirds, sixths and fractions. Due to the large number of examples and variety of reverse details added, this group is divided into separate series, categorised by inscriptions or symbols incorporated alongside or in the centre of the ankh.

The fifth group (E) represents the first divergence from the above type combinations, with a ram's head reverse type. These staters are inscribed by a different issuing authority, possibly to be read as Mo.. .

The sixth group (F) sees a continuation of the types with the ankh reverse, but with a new royal inscription, of King Phausis. This group is represented by staters and sixths only.

Groups G and H represent two apparently unknown authorities, and are listed separately because of their unusual inscriptions.

The seventh group, Group I, again presents a new inscription although the types remain the same as the previous groups (F, G and H). These coins (only two staters among many thirds) are issued by a King Nikodamos.

The final, Group J, represents another rare divergence (like Group E) from the typical type combination, once more with a ram's head on the reverse; it belongs to King Evanthes. Unlike the previous group, it has no known thirds.

Catalogue abbreviations:

NAS: 'not available for study'

TW: 'too worn'

(1): Where possible, the order of striking is thus numbered within parenthesis.

For the Cypriot syllabic signs, see chart on p. 42.

2.i. Catalogue

A. Uninscribed

(c. 530 BC)

Silver

obv. ram lying l. *rev.* smooth

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
1	o1 ¹	10.65	-	Jacksonville, NC ² ; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 43 obv: chisel cut
2	o2	10.68	-	Jacksonville, NC; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 45 obv: 2 chisel cuts rev: possible overstrike
3	o3	10.91	-	Jacksonville, NC; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 46 obv: chisel cut rev: possible overstrike
4	o4	10.71	-	Jacksonville, NC; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 47 obv: chisel cut rev: possible overstrike
5	o5	10.78	-	Jacksonville, NC; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 44 obv: 2 chisel cuts rev: possible overstrike
6	o6	10.88	-	Jacksonville, NC; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 50 obv: chisel cut
7	o7	11.17	-	Jacksonville, NC; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 51 obv: chisel cut
8	o8	10.70	-	Jacksonville, NC; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 48 obv: chisel cut

¹ The angle of the head of the ram would suggest that many of the specimens in this group were struck from the same die. However, they are generally far too worn to die match with any confidence.

² Cyprus Museum, Jacksonville, North Carolina, USA.

9	o9	11.20	-	Jacksonville, NC; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 49 obv: chisel cut
10	o10	10.93	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 796, pl. XXIX
11	o11	11.18	-	Classical Numismatic Group, June 1998, no. 467; Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 789
12	o12	10.85	-	Naville Geneva, June 1923, no. 2768	
13	o13	11.07	-	Naville XII, 1926, Bisson et al., no. 1933	very worn, could have been inscribed
14	NAS	11.35	-	Demanhur Hoard (IGCH 1637)	Dressel & Regling, p. 73, no. 126
15	NAS	11.08	-	Hirsch VII, no. 181; Demanhur Hoard (IGCH 1637)	Dressel & Regling, p. 73, no. 127
16	NAS	10.10	-	Demanhur Hoard (IGCH 1637)	Dressel & Regling, p. 73, no. 128
17	NAS	frag.	-	Demanhur Hoard (IGCH 1637)	Dressel & Regling, p. 73, no. 129 (details unknown)
18	NAS	11.14	-		Cesnola, p. 291, no. 299; Six 1883, p. 266, no. 1.2
19	NAS		-		Cesnola, p. 288, no. 292; Six 1883, p. 266, no. 1.20
20	NAS	3.38 broken	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 807

Third

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
21	o2	3.77	-	ANS 1944.100.58024; Newell Collection; Noe 1923 8.Y	obv.: ram lying r.

B. King Evelthon

(c. 520 - 500 BC)

Silver

B.I. Nominative / Smooth

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: <i>we u e</i> ; below: <i>ne to le</i>	<i>rev.</i> as above
---	----------------------

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
22	o1	10.47	-	CM 386; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
23	o1-r1 ³	10.65	-	CM 387; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
	a	10.52	-	CM 393; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
	b	10.85	-	CM 392; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 77
	c	10.05	-	CM 398; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
24	o2-r1	10.41	-	CM 395; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97 obv: possible border
25	o3-r1	11.06	-	BN 1605	Babelon 1893, p. 83, no. 555, pl. XVI, fig. 1; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 576, no. 919, pl. XXVI, fig. 1; ICS, p. 318, no. 319a, pl. LIV, 1
26	o3	11.00	-	BN; de Luynes Collection	Six 1883, p. 267, no. 1.9; Babelon 1893, p. 83, no. 560, pl. XVI, fig. 3; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 576, no. 921, pl. XXVI, fig. 3; Babelon 1930, p. 108, no. 2928
	a	11.25	-	Kölner Münz., Nov. 1970, no. 69	

³ As reverse dies are almost impossible to detect with the smooth reverse type, reverse die numbers are not listed unless dies can be matched.

27	o4	11.33	-	BN Y 21042; Ras Shamra Hoard (<i>IGCH</i> 1478)	Schaeffer, p. 480, no. 4; Stucky, p. 8, no. 36 obv: large chisel cut
		a 11.45	-	Ras Shamra Hoard (<i>IGCH</i> 1478)	Schaeffer, p. 480, no. 1; Stucky, p. 8, no. 33
		b 11.12	-	BN Y21044; Ras Shamra Hoard (<i>IGCH</i> 1478)	Schaeffer, p. 480, no. 2; Stucky, p. 8, no. 34
		c 10.71	-	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1984-01-01	CCEMAB 1991, no. 1; 1994, no. 1
28	o5	11.01	-	BN; Waddington Collection	Babelon 1897, p. 275, no. 4802; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 576, no. 922
		a 11.11	-	BN; de Luynes Collection	de Luynes, p. 4, no. 8, pl. I; Six 1883, p. 266, no. 1.4; Babelon 1893, p. 83, no. 556; Babelon 1930, p. 108, no. 2926 overstrike?
29	o6	8.74	-	CM 388; Larnaca Hoard (<i>IGCH</i> 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 76 obv: traces of border; rev: traces of overstrike
30	o6-r2	10.88	-	Harvard; Arthur S. Dewing Collection	Mildenberg & Hurter, p. 155, no. 2528, pl. 124
		a 10.79	-	Boston Museum of Fine Arts 04.1157; Greenwell Collection	Brett, p. 274, no. 2143, pl. 98 ('not piece illustrated in <i>NC</i> 1890, p. II.1, pl. II.1, not found in <i>IGCH</i> 1638'); Babelon, <i>Traite</i> I p. 576 no. 920?; Vermeule, p. 152 [n.: pl. XXIV, no. 4 is mislabelled as 3]
31	o7-r2	10.97	-	Fitzwilliam; McClean Collection	Grose, no. 9161, pl. 331.19
32	o8-r3	11.12	-	Weber Collection; Naville June 1922, no. 961	Weber, no. 7714
		a 11.03	-	Egger 46, 1914, no. 2316	
33	o9 (1)	11.13	-	BM 1880 9-5-1; C.D. Cobham, Esq.	<i>BMC</i> Salamis 1, p. 46, pl. IX.1 obv: ankh to l. of ram
		a(2) 11.34	-	Asyut Hoard (<i>IGCH</i> 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 800, pl. XXIX
		b(3) 10.93	-	CM 374; Larnaca Hoard (<i>IGCH</i> 1277)	Dikaios 1935, p. 172, no. 477, pl. XIV, no. 11; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97

		c(4)	11.14	-	CM 399; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 78
		d	11.45	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 801 (n.: NAS, die match from <i>Asyut</i>)
34	o10 (1)		11.60	-	NFA, Winter 1987, no. 405; Meyer, Dec. 1975, no. 229; Meyer, Nov. 1971, no. 252; Rosen Collection	Waggoner, <i>Rosen</i> , p. 49, no. 755
		a(2)	10.61	-	CM 379; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
		b(5)	11.01	-	CM 382; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
		c	11.20	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 794, pl. XXIX
		d	7.27 broken	-	Ashmolean; Jordan Hoard (IGCH 1482)	Kraay & Moorey, p. 190, no. 81, pl. XXI
35	o10-r4 (3)		10.57	-	CM 380; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
		a(4)	10.87	-	CM 381; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
36	o11		11.23	-	BM 1925 1-5-15; Spink (Col. Massy)	
		a	10.81	-	ANS 1941.153.932; W. Gedney Beatty Bequest 1941; Louis Auction, May, 1906, no. 248; L.P. Cesnola Collection	
37	o12		11.02	-	Berlin; C.R. Fox (1873)	Six 1883, p. 267, no. 1.7 obv.: to written retrograde
		a	10.89	-	BM 1870 11-2-31; Feuardent; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	BMC, <i>Salamis</i> , p. 46, no. 3, pl. IX.3; Price 1969, p.1.
		b	10.95	-	Danish National Mueum; Gréau no. 1962	SNG Copenhagen, no. 31, pl. Cyprus 1; Six 1883, p. 267, no. 1.12
38	o13		9.40 pl.	-	ANS 1951.116.157; Gunther Collection, no. 48, March 1949	
		a	10.98	-	BN E 644; Comte de Perthuis 1859	Babelon 1893, p. 83, no. 559

39	o14 (1)	10.73	-	ANS 1967.153.190; Newell Collection; Hamburg 1930	
	a(2)	11.23	-	BN; Delepierre Collection; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1272)	SNG, Delepierre, no. 2917
	b(3)	10.75	-	Leiden	
	c (4)	10.65	-	Adonis Kyrou Collection; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)?	Destrooper-Georgiades 1989, p. 203, no. 19, n. 11, pl. 85
	d(5)	10.75	-	Helbirg, Nov., 1928, no. 4050	
40	o15	11.21	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644); Bank Leu, May 1989, no. 254	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 802, pl. XXIX rev: test cut
	a	11.64	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 803
	b	10.79	-	CM 384; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
41	o16	10.96	-	BM 1870 11-2-30; Feuardent; Lang, Dali 1879; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	BMC Salamis, p. 46, no. 2, pl. IX.2; Price 1969, p. 1.
	a	11.20	-	Ras Shamra Hoard (IGCH 1478)	Schaeffer, p. 480, no. 3; Stucky, p. 8, no. 35
42	o17	11.06	-	Leiden; Six Collection	Six 1883, p. 266, no. 1.5
	a	11.29	-	Berlin; Dannenberg (1863)	obv.: <i>to</i> written retrograde
	b	11.20	-	Hirsch 13, 1, no. 4392; Rhousopoulos Collection (M61)	
	c	10.88	-	Ahlström, Nov. 1989, no. 2422; Seaby, Jan. 1960, no. 14; Fayum Hoard (IGCH 1646)	Seaby's, Jan1960, p. 9-10, no. 14, pl. 3
43	o18	10.74	-	BN	Babelon 1893, p. 83, no. 561, pl. XVI, fig. 4 obv.: <i>to</i> written retrograde
	a	11.39	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 798, pl. XXIX
44	o19 (1)	10.94	-	Ashmolean; Near East Hoard (CH VII, 16)	Kraay, CH VII, p. 38, no. 5
	a(2)	n/a	-	CM 373; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97

	b (3)	10.80	-	ANS 1944.100.58023; Newell Collection; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	
	c?	10.15	-	CM 377; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Dikaïos 1935, p. 172, no. 506; Robinson 1935, pp. 184-185; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 75 overstruck on stater of Paphos
	d?	10.71 pl.	-	ANS 1951.116.156; Gunther Collection, no. 51, March 1949	
45	o20	11.03	-	Jacksonville, NC; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 53 obv: chisel cut
	a	10.94	-	Jacksonville, NC; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 54 obv: chisel cut
46	o21	10.96	-	Galerie des Monnaies, June 1978, no. 1451; Meyer, Feb. 1976, no. 30; Jameson Collection	Jameson IV, no. 2605
47	o22	10.84	-	CM 376; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Dikaïos 1961, p. 175, no. 1; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 74
48	o23	10.91	-	BN; de Luynes Collection	Six 1883, p. 266, no. 1.6; Babelon 1893, p. 83, no. 557, pl. XVI, fig. 2; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 576, no. 920, pl. XXVI, fig. 2; Babelon 1930, p. 108, no. 2927
49	o24	11.11	-	Berlin 10996	Friedlander 1873, no. 619; Six 1883, p. 266, no. 1.3
50	o25	10.73	-	Sotheby's, London, April 1997, no. 403; Vinchon, Drorot 10, Feb. 1961, no. 239; Bourgey, June 1959, no. 579; Weber Collection; Delta Hoard (IGCH 1638)	Weber, p. 280, no. 7713; Greenwell, p. 6, p. II. 1.
51	o26	10.84	-	BN E646	Babelon 1893, p. 83, no. 558
52	o27	10.88 (10.91)	-	Locker-Lampson, no. 339; Sotheby's, Benson, 1909, no. 748	
53	o28	11.10	-	Adonis Kyrou Collection	Destrooper-Georgiades 1989, p. 204, no. 20, pl. 85

54	o29	7.66 pl.	-	Spink, Oct. 1985, no. 143; Ratto Collection, Lugano, April, 1927, no. 2363	obv.: <i>to written retrograde</i>
55	o30	10.91	-	Bank Leu, May 1987, no. 343; Hess & Leu April 1960, no. 237; Stack June 1952, no. 1186; Schlessinger 13, Hermitage Feb. 1935, no. 1403	obv.: <i>to written retrograde</i>
56	o31	11.08	-	Mather, June 1984, no. 31	
57	o32	n/a	-	Baghdad?; Persepolis Excavations - Treasury Hall 38	Schmidt, p. 113, no. 13
58	o33	10.90	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 797, pl. XXIX
59	o34	7.93 (half)	-	BN Y21043; Ras Shamra Hoard (IGCH 1478)	Schaeffer, p. 480, no. 5; Stucky, p. 9, no. 37
60	o35	10.94	-	Berlin; Löbbecke (1906)	
61	o36	8.69 pl.	-	ANS 1984.65.103; Rosen Collection: 12.18.1983	
62	o37	10.69	-	Ashmolean; Spink, May, 1952; Weber Collection	Weber, no. 7712
63	o38	11.34	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 795, pl. XXIX
64	o39	10.22	-	CM 375; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Dikaios 1935, p. 172, no. 478, pl XIV, no. 12; Destrooper- Georgiades 1984, n. 97
65	o40	10.46	-	Spink, Feb., 1977, no. 151; Glendining Dec. 1974, no. 200; New Netherlands, Nov. 1973, no. 117; Bourgey June 1959, no. 578	
66	o41	10.76	-	Fitzwilliam	Grose, no. 9160, pl. 331.18
67	o42	n/a	-	Numismatique Antique, 88 Herbst, no. 84	
68	o43	10.05	-	NFA, March 1993, no. 264; Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 799
69	o44	10.52	-	CM 378; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
70	o45	9.39	-	Seaby, Jan. 1960, no. 15; Fayum Hoard (IGCH 1646)	Seaby's Jan. 1960, p. 9-10, no. 15, pl. 3

71	o46	11.01	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 790, pl. XXIX
72	o47	10.62	-	Classical Numismatic Group, March 1997, no. 648; NFA, Winter 1987, no. 404; Meyers, April 1975, no. 164; Coin Galleries, June 1974, no. 272; Rosen Collection	Waggoner, <i>Rosen</i> , no. 754, p. 49, pl. 28 obv: chisel cut
73	o48	11.26	-	Classical Numismatic Group, March 1996, no. 604; Anti-Lebenon Hoard (CH VI 4-5, CH VII 12, CH VII, 45)	Hurter & Pászthory, p. 121, no. 63
74	o49	10.31	-	Jacksonville, NC; AM 1989 Hoard (CH VIII, 19)	Kagan, no. 52 obv: deep chisel cut
75	o50	10.82	-	NFA, March 1993, no. 263; Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 792
76	o51	11.00	-	Ashmolean; Adana Hoard (CH I, 4)	Robinson 1973, p. 236, no. 10, pl. xxv; Santamas, no. 10, pl. 10 obv: chisel cut
77	o52	7.91 broken	-	Ashmolean; Black Sea Hoard (CH I, 15)	
78	o53	10.98	-	BM 1972 7-13-20; D. Portolos; Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 793, p. XXIX broken in two, large slash
79	o54	frag	-	A. Spaer Collection	rev: overstrike, edge of incuse and to syllable
80	o55	11.06	-	ANS 1951.116.115; Gunther Collection, no. 52, March 1949	
81	o56	11.19	-	ANS 1951.116.154; Gunther Collection, no. 51, March 1949	double struck
82	o57	9.25	-	Classical Numismatic Review, March, 1993, no. 377 and vol. xvii, no. 4, 1992, no. 153	
83	o58	10.84	-	NFA, Fall 1990, no. 841; Tucker Collection	
84	TW	11.20	-	BN Y21046; Ras Shamra Hoard (IGCH 1478)	Schaeffer, p. 480, no. 6; Stucky, p. 9, no. 38

85	TW	11.25	-	Alexandria Museum; Myt-Rahineh Hoard (IGCH 1636) cast in BM	de Luynes 1852, pl. 1, no. 8; de Longpèrier, no. 21; Six 1883, p. 266, no. 1.1; Price 1977, p. 6, no. 14.
86	TW	6.61 pl.	-	BM 1896 3.1.3; Excavated at Amathus 1896, Tomb 30	BMC, Salamis 4, p. 46, no plate; Murry, Smith & Walters, p. 117 broken and repeatedly stabbed
87	TW	10.58	-	CM 383; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
88	TW	10.58	-	CM 385; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
89	TW	n/a	-	Larnaca Museum CM 389; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
90	TW	10.83	-	CM 390; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
91	TW	10.39	-	CM 391; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
92	TW	10.99	-	CM 394; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
93	TW	9.71	-	CM 396; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
94	TW	10.01	-	CM 397; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
95	NAS	11.07	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 107, no. 787
96	NAS	7.72 broken	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 788
97	NAS	9.39 broken	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 791
98	NAS	n/a	-	Glendining, 7 July 1914, no. 20; Asia Minor Hoard (IGCH 1252)	
99	NAS	n/a	-	Glendining, 7 July 1914, no. 20; Asia Minor Hoard (IGCH 1252)	
100	NAS	n/a	-	Glendining, 7 July 1914, no. 20; Asia Minor Hoard (IGCH 1252)	
101	NAS	n/a	-	Turin	Six 1883, p. 267, no. 1.18

102	NAS?	n/a	-	Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1272)	Amandry 1986, p. 37 obv: 'ankh to l. of ram'
-----	------	-----	---	---------------------------	---

Thirids

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
103	o1		-	Private Collection; Baldwin's 1993	
		a 3.58	-	BM 1925 1-5-17; Spink (Col. Massy)	
		b 3.31	-	ANS 1977.158.595 RF: Kelley, April 1977; Spink	
		c 3.49	-	Ashmolean; G. Petrakides 251, Jan. 1953	
		d 3.85	-	Pozzi Collection, Geneva 1921, no. 2885	
		e? 3.64	-	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1984-01-02	CCEMAB 1991, no. 2; 1994, no. 2, pl. I
104	o2	3.51	-	BM 1925 1-5-16; Spink (Col. Massy)	
		a 3.28	-	BM 1889 6-3-4; Dr. H. Weber; Delta Hoard (IGCH 1638)	Greenwell, p. 6, pl. II.2; BMC Salamis, p. 47, no. 6, pl. IX.5; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 578, no. 924
105	o3	3.46	-	ANS 1951.116.160; Gunther Collection, no. 54, 58 a 145 a, March 1949	
		a 3.28	-	BN	Babelon 1897, no. 4803; Babelon, <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 576, no. 923, pl. XXVI, fig. 4
		b 3.72	-	Schulman, Oct. 1972, no. 87	
		c? 3.17	-	Weber Collection; Bourgey, June, 1959, no. 580	Weber, no. 7715
106	o4	3.47	-	ANS 1951.116.161; Gunther Collection, no. 54, 58a, 145a March 1949	

		a 3.54	-	ANS 1951.116.162; Gunther Collection, no. 54, 58a 145a March 1949	
107	o5	3.71	-	BM 1882 6-4-1; Col. White	BMC Salamis, p. 47, no. 5, pl. IX.4
		a 3.76	-	Berlin 4959; Geschenk Prof. Ross	
		b 3.78	-	Münz & Med., Dec. 1975, no. 178	
108	o6	3.63	-	BN E 647	Babelon 1893, p. 83, no. 562; Six 1883, p. 267, no. 2.2, pl. VI, fig. 1; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 578, no. 924
	o7	3.62	-	Berlin; Prokesch-Osten (1875)	
109	o8	3.52	-	Hirsch 18, 1907, no. 2499	obv.: <i>to</i> written retrograde
110	o9	3.71	-	Kricheldorf, Nov. 1984, no. 275; NFA, March 1975, no. 200	
111	o10	3.20	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1744)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 808, pl. XXX
112	NAS	n/a	-	Münz & Med. list 361, no. 299, no plate; Egypt Hoard (CH II, 10)	
113	NAS	n/a	-	Turin	Six 1883, p. 267, no. 2.1
114	NAS	n/a	-	CM	Dikaïos 1961, p. 175, no. 4, Gunther Collection

Sixths

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
115	o1	1.22	-	BM 1974 -9-11; Stebbing bequest	
		a 1.55	-	BM 1912 10-13-21; Lang	
		b 1.69	-	ANS 1951.116.166	
		c 1.56	-	ANS 1951.116.168	
		d 1.95	-	ANS 1967.153.191; Newell Collection, March 1967; Pozzi Collection	

		e	1.52	-	ANS 1944.100.58025; Newell Collection; Mr. Davidson's cousin 15/2/34	
		f	1.65	-	Münz & Med., June, 1964, no. 185; Munzhadl. Basel IV, Oct. 1, 1935, no. 860	
		g	1.77	-	Bank of Cyprus Collection; 1984-01-03	CCEMAB 1991, no. 3; 1994, no. 3
		h	1.70	-	Berlin; Fox Collection	de Luynes, p. 5, no. 14, pl. I; Six 1883, p. 267, no. 3.8
		i	n/a	-	CM	Dikaïos 1961, p. 175, no. 4, Gunther Collection
		j	1.63	-	Berlin; Löbbecke (1906)	
		k	1.61	-	Museum Haaretz, Tel Aviv; K-71945	
		l	1.62	-	Giessener Münz., Nov. 1990, no. 359	
116	o2		1.58	-	BM 1895 5-8-104; Lincoln 1895	BMC, Salamis, p. 47, no. 7, pl. IX.6
		a	1.32	-	ANS 1951.116.170	
		b	1.83	-	ANS 1951.116.167; Gunther Collection, no. 56, 57 a & b, 58 c., 59 a & b, 129, 137, March 1949	
		c	1.31	-	ANS 1951.116.219; Gunther Collection, no. 55, 72 a, March 1949	
		d	1.83	-	Munich	
		e?	1.78	-	BN E 649	Six 1883, p. 267, no. 3.2; Babelon 1893, p. 84, no. 565; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 578, no. 925
117	o3		1.76	-	BM 1925 1-5-18; Spink (Col. Massy)	
		a	1.71	-	BN E 648	Babelon 1893, p. 83, no. 563, pl. XVI, fig. 5; Six 1883, p. 267, no. 3.3; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 578, no. 925
118	o4		1.89	-	Leiden	
		a	1.58	-	ANS 1951.116.169	

119	o5	1.65	-	ANS 1951.116.165	
	a	1.49	-	BN E 650	Six 1883, p. 267, no. 3.4; Babelon 1893, p. 84, no. 564, pl. XVI, fig. 6; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 578, no. 925, pl. XXVI, fig. 5
	b	1.75	-	Hirsch, May 1986, no. 233	
120	o6	1.62	-	ANS 1951.116.164	
121	o7	1.56	-	ANS 1951.116.163; Gunther Collection, no. 56, 57 a&b, 58 c, 59 a&b, 129, 137 b, March 1949	
122	o8	1.56	-	Danish National Museum; Rollin and Feuardent 1878	SNG, Copenhagen, 1956, no. 32, pl. Cyprus 1
123	o9	1.64	-	Ashmolean; G. Petrakides Jan. 1953	
124	o10	1.59	-	Weber Collection	Weber, pl. 280, no. 7716
125	NAS	1.72	-	Klagenfurt	Six 1883, p. 267, no. 3.5

B. II. Fractions

B.II.a. uninscribed

<i>obv.</i> ram's head l.	<i>rev.</i> as above
---------------------------	----------------------

12th of a Stater (?)

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
126	o1(1)	0.93	-	ANS 1944.100.58026; Newell Collection; 1894 Spink?; Weber Collection	Weber, no. 7717, pl. 280
	a(2)	0.78	-	ANS 1944.100.58032; Newell; Rouvier Hoard (IGCH 1263)	
	b(3)	0.82	-	ANS 1944.100.58033; Newell Collection; Rouvier Hoard (IGCH 1263)	
	c	n/a	-	Kovacs, Nov. 1985, no. 134	

127	o2	0.83	-	Fitzwilliam; Lockett Collection; Glendining, Feb., 1961; Naville XII, 1928, lot. 1934; Lockett Sale, 1961, no. 2535	SNG, Fitzwilliam, no. 5357, pl. CXII; SNG, Lockett, no. 3072
	a	0.83	-	BM 1882 6-4-2; Col. White	BMC Salamis, p. 47, no. 8; pl. IX.7
	b	0.67	-	ANS 1951.116.181	
	c	0.86	-	Naville XV, July 1930, no. 1047	
	d?	0.83	-	Naville XII, 1926, Bissen et. al., no. 1934	
128	o3	0.64	-	ANS 1951.116.186	
	a	0.86	-	ANS 1951.116.191	
	b	0.75	-	BN; Delepierre Hoard (CH VIII, 100)	SNG, Delepierre, no. 2919
129	o4(1)	0.87	-	ANS 1951.116.178; Gunther Collection, no. 60a & c, 61 a & b, 62 (6 coins), 63 (4 coins), 148; March 1949	obv: below: L shaped flaw
	a(2)	0.89	-	BN; M. et F. Dosseur 1898; M 2627	Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 578, no. 926, pl. XXVI, fig. 7 obv.: below: L shaped flaw
130	o5	0.58	-	ANS 1951.116.188; Gunther Collection, no. 60 a&c, 61a&b, 62 (6 coins), 63 (4 coins), 148; March 1949	
	a	0.79	-	ANS 1952.142.207; Gunther Collection (lot 2), March 1949	
	b	0.68	-	CM; Salamis, Necropolis, Tomb 80	Karageorghis 1973, p. 125, tomb 80, no. 25 - Appendix 1: Helly, p. 204, no. 1, fig. 1
	c	0.75	-	Ashmolean; Jordan Hoard (IGCH 1482)	Kraay & Moorey, p. 190, no. 82, pl. XXI.
131 *	o6 (1)	0.80	-	Leiden; Six Collection; de la Borde 1869	Six 1883, p. 267, no. 4.1
	a(2)	0.90	-	ANS 1951.116.190	
	b(3)	0.78	-	ANS 1951.116.183; Gunther Collection, 60 a&c, 61 a&b, 62 (6 coins) 63 (4 coins) 148; March 1949	

		c? 0.68	-	Weber Collection	Weber, no. 7718, pl. 280
132	o7 (1)	0.83	-	ANS 1951.116.182	
		a(2) 0.80	-	ANS 1951.116.171; Gunther Collection, no. 65a, b, and c, 64 g, 135 g, 147a	
133	o8 (1)	0.95	-	ANS 1944.100.58027; Newell Collection	
		a(2) 0.71	-	ANS 1951.116.180	
		b? 0.5	-	Adonis Kyrou Collection	Destrooper-Georgiades 1989, p. 204, no. 21, pl. 85
134	o9	0.92	-	ANS 1944.100.58037; Newell Collection; Rouvier Hoard (IGCH 1263)	
		a 0.91	-	BN; M. et F. Dosseur 1895; L 4379	Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 578, no. 927, pl. XXVI, fig. 8
		b 0.85	-	Pozzi Collection, Geneva 1921, no. 2886	
135	o10 (1)	0.763	-	Bank of Cyprus Collection; 1984-01-07	CCEMAB 1991, no. 5; 1994, no. 5, pl. I
		a(2) 0.85	-	Danish National Museum; Philippsen 2803	SNG, Copenhagen, 1956, no. 33, pl. Cyprus 1
		b 0.93	-	BM Duplicate, Naville Geneva, June 1923, no. 2769	
136	o11	0.81	-	BM 1895 6-6-122; Lennep	BMC Salamis 9, p. 47, pl. IX.8
137	o12	0.59	-	ANS 1951.116.196; Gunther Collection, no. 63 a,b,c, 61 c, 64, c, 147 b, 300 a; March 1949	
138	o13	0.70 pl?	-	ANS 1952.142.206; Gunther Collection (lot 2), March 1949	
139	o14	0.71	-	Berlin 9973	
140	o15	0.74	-	ANS 1944.100.58034; Newell Collection; Rouvier Hoard (IGCH 1263)	
141	o16	0.75	-	Berlin; Prokesch-Osten (1875)	

142	o17	0.77	-	ANS 1944.100.58035; Newell Collection; Rouvier Hoard (IGCH 1263)
143	o18	0.77	-	ANS 1951.116.184
144	o19	0.77	-	ANS 1951.116.189
145	o20	0.79	-	ANS 1944.100.58036; Newell Collection; Rouvier Hoard (IGCH 1263)
146	o21	0.79	-	ANS 1951.116.179
147	o22	0.79	-	ANS 1951.116.195
148	o23	0.81	-	Ashmolean; G. Petrakides, Jan 1953
149	o24	0.84	-	Berlin; 9974
150	o25	0.86	-	ANS 1951.116.192
151	o26	0.87	-	ANS 1951.116.187

48th of a Stater (?)

152	o1	0.24	-	BM 1871 7-1-54; Feuardent; Lang, Dali, 1871; Dali Hoard II (IGCH 1276)	Lang, p. 18, no. 16; Six 1883, p. 267, no. 5; BMC Salamis 11, p. 47, no plate; Price 1969, p. 4.
		a 0.21	-	BM 1913 2-12-60 (?); Lang presd.; Dali Hoard II (IGCH 1276)	Hill 1914, pp. 105-106; Price 1969, p. 4.
		b 0.26	-	BM 1913 2-12-63; Lang presd.; Dali Hoard II (IGCH 1276)	Hill 1914, pp. 105-106; Price 1969, p. 4.
153	o2	0.45	-	ANS 1951.116.198	
		a 0.46	-	BN; M. et F. Dosseur 1898; M 2628	Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 578, no. 928
154	o3	0.40	-	ANS 1951.116.194	
		a 0.35	-	ANS 1951.116.193; Gunther Collection, no. 63 a, b, c, 61 c, 64 c, 147 g, 300 a; March 1949	
155	o4	0.44	-	BM 1925 1-5-21; Spink (Col. Massy) (part exchange)	BMC p. lxxxv, 1 c, pl. XXIII, 2

		a 0.19	-	BM 1913 2-2-62; Lang presd.; Dali Hoard II (IGCH 1276)	Hill, 1914, pp. 105-106; Price 1969, p. 4.
		b 0.28	-	ANS 1944.100.58038; Newell Collection; Rouvier Hoard (IGCH 1263)	
156	o5	0.18	-	BM 1913 2-12-61; Lang presd.; Dali Hoard II (IGCH 1276)	Hill 1914, pp. 105-106; Price 1969, p. 4.
		a 0.17	-	ANS 1944.100.58029; Newell Collection	
		b 0.25	-	ANS 1951.116.200; Gunther Collection, no. 64d	
157	o6	0.18	-	BM 1913 2-12-64; Lang presd.; Dali Hoard II (IGCH 1276)	Hill 1914, pp. 105-106; Price 1969, p. 4.
					obv.: dotted border
		a 0.19	-	ANS 1944.100.58030; Newell Collection	obv.: dotted border
158	o7	0.16	-	BM 1923 11-5-12; Spink excl., ex Jelajian	
159	o8	0.19	-	BN; M. et F. Dosseur 1898; M 2629	Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 578, no. 929, pl. XXVI, fig. 9
160	o9	0.26	-	BM 1871 7-1-55; Feuarent; Lang, Dali, 1871; Dali Hoard II (IGCH 1276)	BMC Salamis 10, p. 47, pl. IX.9; Price 1969, p. 4.
161	o10	0.29	-	ANS 1951.116.199	
162	o11	0.30	-	ANS 1951.116.197	
163	o12	0.30	-	ANS 1953.30.21; Gunther Collection, March 1949	
164	o13	0.33	-	ANS 1944.100.58039; Newell Collection; Rouvier Hoard (IGCH 1263)	
165	o14	0.386	-	Collection of A.G. Pitsallides	
166	TW	0.06	-	Ashmolean; Aphendrika Excavations, Tomb 37	Dray & du Plat Taylor 1951, p. 67, no. 24
167	TW	0.06	-	Ashmolean; Aphendrika Excavations, Tomb 42	Dray & du Plat Taylor 1951, p. 71, no. 8

B.II.b. *e*

<i>obv.</i> as above; below: <i>e</i>	<i>rev.</i> as above
---------------------------------------	----------------------

12th of a Stater (?)

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
168	o1	0.91	-	BM 1923 11-5-11; Spink, excav. ex Jelajian	
	a	0.90	-	Berlin; Imhoof-Blumer (1900)	Imhoof-Blumer, p. 389, no. 88; Six 1883, p. 268, no. 8.1; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 578, no. 932
169	o2	0.74	-	ANS 1951.116.172	

B.II.c. *eu*

<i>obv.</i> ram's head l.; l.: <i>u</i> ; below: <i>e</i>	<i>rev.</i> as above
---	----------------------

12th of a Stater (?)

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
170	o1(1)	0.62	-	ANS 1951.116.176	
	a(2)	0.74	-	ANS 1951.116.175	
171	o2(1)	0.88	-	BM 1925 1-5-20; Spink (Col. Massy) (part exchange)	BMC p. lxxxv, 1 b, pl. XXIII, 1
	a(2)	0.80	-	ANS 1951.116.173	
172	o3	0.73	-	ANS 1951.116	
173	o4	0.84	-	ANS 1951.116.185	obv.: only <i>u</i> visible
174	o5	0.814	-	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1984-01-04	CCEMAB 1991, no. 4; 1994, no. 4 obv.: only <i>u</i> visible
Unavailable for Study: 'coin of Evelthon'					
175	NAS		-	CM; Tamassos excavations	K. Nicolaou, 'Archaeology in Cyprus, 1967-76', <i>Arch. Rep.</i> for 1975-1976, 1976, p. 48.

C. King ...noki....

(c. 500 - 480 BC)

Silver

C.I. ...noki...

Staters

obv. ram lying l.; above: dots over head, *rev.* smooth
and: ... *ki no* ... [recut]

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
176	o1(1)	10.89	-	Larnaca Museum; CM 400; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Dikaios 1935, p. 172, no. 475; Robinson 1935, p. 184; Destrooper- Georgiades 1984, no. 79
	a(2)	8.16 3/4	-	BM 1972 7-13-19; D. Portolos; Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 805, pl. XXIX
	b(3)	10.71	-	CM 402; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
	c(4)	10.33	-	CM 403; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, n. 97
	d(5)	10.72	-	CM 401; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 80
	e(6)	11.24	-	Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 804, pl. XXIX
177	NAS	10.23	-	CM; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Dikaios 1935, p. 172, no. 476; Robinson 1935, p. 184; Destrooper- Georgiades 1984, n. 97

C.II. ...weno?ki?..

obv. ram lying l.; above: <i>ki? no? we</i> [recut]	rev. smooth
--	-------------

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
178	o1	7.78 half	-	BM 1972 7-13-21; D. Portolos pres.; Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644)	<i>Asyut</i> , p. 108, no. 806, pl. XXIX rev: traces of incuse square - overstrike

Silver

(c. 500-480 BC)

D.I. Ba Ankh

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; inscription illegible	<i>rev.</i> ankh, dotted circle, centre: <i>ba</i> ; incuse square
---	--

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
179	o1-r1	9.89	0	Ratto Sale, Lugano, April 1927, no. 2364	rev: vertical flaw below l. horizontal cross
	a	9.90	n/a	Numismatic Ars Classica, March 1994, no. 1526	rev: vertical flaw below l. horizontal cross
180	o2-r2	9 pl	12	ANS 1951.116.201; Gunther Collection, no. 139; March 1949	
181	o3-r3	10.56	4	Fitzwilliam	Grose, no. 9162, no plate rev.: possibly syllable in lower l. corner
182	o4-r4	9.94	12	BN; MM. Paul, Huard et Guillemin, libraires intermédiaires de S. Exc. Macridi Pacha, de Constantinople; L 2776	Babelon 1893, p. 85, no. 571, pl. XVI, fig. 12; BMC, p. xci, 2, pl. XXIII, 11; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 590, no. 941, pl. XXVI, fig. 16 rev.: linear circle surrounded by two dotted circles; flaw? under r. horizontal cross
183	o5- r5	10.31		Bourgey, June, 1959, no. 582	
184	NAS	5.57 frag.		Mesopotamia Hoard (IGCH 1747)	Robinson 1950, p. 46, no. 13, no plate

Sixths

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
185	o1-r1	1.792	2	Bank of Cyprus Collection	CCEMAB 1991, no. 9; 1994, no. 9
				1990-01-08	
186	o2-r1	n/a	n/a	Vecchi & Sons, July-Aug.	
				1986, no. 68B	

D.II. Nominative / Ankh

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: <i>we u e</i> ; below: <i>ne to le</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ku</i> ; sprays of three leaves in four corners; incuse square
---	--

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
187	o1-r1 (1)	9.90	9	BN; Massyaf Hoard (IGCH 1483)	Kraay & Moorey, p. 216, no. 62, pl. XXVI
	a(2)	10.28	12	CM 416; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Dikaios 1935, p. 173, no. 509, pl. XV, no. 3; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 87
	b(3)	11.28	12	BN	Six 1883, p. 270, no. 15.2; Babelon 1893, p. 84, no. 567, pl. XVI, fig. 8; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 580, no. 934, pl. XXVI, fig. 11
	c(4)	10.91	6	BM 1870 11-2-20; Feuardent; Lang, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	BMC, Salamis 18, p. 49, p. IX.15; Price 1969, p. 1.
	d(5)	10.95	3	Adonis Kyrou Collection	Destrooper-Georgiades 1989, p. 204, no. 22, pl. 85
	e(6)	11.08	10	CM 417; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	
	f(7?)	11.02	9	CM 411; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	

194	o3-r1	10.51	3	CM 413; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	
	a	9.35	6	CM 414; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	
195	o4-r2	8.88 pl	5	BM 1912 10-13-24; Lang	
196	o5-r3	11.10	12	BM 1870 11-2-18; Feuardent; Lang, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	Lang, p. 13, no. 15; Six 1883, p. 270, no. 14; BMC, Salamis, p. 48, no. 12, pl. IX.10; Price 1969, p. 1.
197	o6-r4	10.92	5:30	BM 1870 11-2-19; Feuardent; Lang, Dali, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	BMC, Salamis 20, p. 49, pl. IX.17 (rev); Price 1969, p. 1. rev: dotted frame hugging countour of ankh
198	o7- r5	11.27	3	Berlin; C.R. Fox (1873)	obv: chisel cut
199	o8-r6	9.43 pl.	n/a	Spink, Oct. 1985, no. 144	
200	NAS			Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1272)	Amandry 1986, p. 37

Thirds

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
201	o1-r1	3.50		Naville VII , Geneva, 1924, no. 1650; Schulman, Dec 1926, no. 197	
	a	3.42	12	ANS 1944.100.58045; Newell Collection	

Sixths

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
202	o1?-r1	1.66	9	ANS 1953.30.23; Gunther Collection (lot 3), March 1949	
203	o1-r2	1.68	9	Leiden; Six Collection	
	a	1.16	12	ANS 1951.116.218; Gunther Collection, no. 55, 72a, March 1949	

204	o1-r3	1.39	6	BM 1912 10-13-25; Lang	
		a 1.73	8	ANS 1951.116.217; Gunther Collection, no. 82 a, March 1949	
		b 1.6	12	Adonis Kyrou Collection	Destrooper-Georgiades 1989, p. 204, no. 23, pl. 85
		c 1.65	0	Museum Haaretz, Tel Aviv; K-7320	
205	o2-r3	1.637	6	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1984-01-05	CCEMAB 1991, no. 6; 1994, no. 6
206	o3-r4	1.75	11	Berlin; B. Friedlaender (1861)	rev.: floral sprays in corners
		a 1.76	3	Harvard; Arthur S. Dewing Collection	Mildenberg & Hurter, p. 155, no. 2529, pl. 124
					rev.: floral sprays in corners
207	o4-r4	1.62	7:30	BM 1925 1-5-19; Spink (Col. Massey) (part exchange)	rev.: floral sprays in corners
208	o5-r5	1.44 pl	10	ANS 1951.116.220; Gunther Collection, no. 134a, March 1949	

D.IV. Genitive / Ankh

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: <i>we ue e</i> ; below: <i>se to to le</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ku</i> ; sprays of three leaves in four corners; incuse square
---	--

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
209	o1-r1 (1)	10.53	3	BM 1870 11-2-22; Feuardent; Lang, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	Lang, p. 13, no. 18?; Six 1883, p. 270, no. 15.4; BMC, Salamis 19, p. 49, pl. IX.16 (obv); Price 1969, p. 1. <i>obv.</i> : shows square border of dots
	a(2)	10.94	5	Leiden; Six Collection	<i>rev.</i> : test cut
	b(3)	11.31	3	Berlin 711/1902; Zagazig Hoard (IGCH 1645)	Dressel & Regling, p. 132, no. 248, pl. V <i>obv.</i> : chisel cut
	c(4)	10.88	9	CM 404; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 81
210	o1-r2 (5)	10.77	4	ANS 1951.116.158; Gunther Collection, no. 69; March 1949	
	a(6)	10.36	10	CM 409; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 84 <i>rev.</i> : fine dotted circle surrounded by dotted circle
	b(7)	10.90	9	CM 407; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 83 <i>rev.</i> : fine dotted circle surrounded by dotted circle
	c(8)	10.95	3	CM 405; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 82 <i>rev.</i> : fine dotted circle surrounded by dotted circle
	d(9)	10.77	3	CM 406; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Dikaïos 1935, p. 173, no. 508, pl. XV, no. 2; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 82 <i>rev.</i> : fine dotted circle surrounded by dotted circle

	e(10)	10.51	4	CM 408; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	rev.: fine dotted circle surrounded by dotted circle
	f(11)	10.58	3	BN; found at Larnaca; Delepierre Collection	SNG, Delepierre, no. 2918;
211	o2-r3 (1)	10.98	12	BM 1870 11-2-24; Feuardent; Lang, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	Lang, p. 13, no. 20; Six 1883, p. 269, no. 10.1; Head 1889, pl. 11, 41; BMC, Salamis 26, p. 50, pl. X.4; Kraay & Hirmer, pl. 194, no. 677; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 580, no. 933 bis; Head 1911, p. 624; Price 1969, p. 1.
	a(2)	10.20	10	BN	de Luynes, p. 4, no. 7; Six 1883, p. 269, no. 10.2; Babelon 1893, p. 84, no. 566, pl. XVI, fig. 7; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 580, no. 933 bis, pl. XXVI, fig. 10; Rochette, p. 60, pl. II, 9; Babelon 1930, p. 108, no. 2929
	b(3)	10.95	n/a	NFA, June 1980, no. 326	
	c(4)	10.88	6	Ashmolean; Gift of E.S.G. Robinson (from Baldwin's) 19 Oct. 1956	
	d(5)	9.81	4	CM 418; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 88
212	o3-r4	10.88	11	BM 1920 1-3-73; Lang, Dali, 1902; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	BMC, Salamis 17, p. 49, p. IX.14 (rev); Price 1969, p. 1.
213	o3-r5	6.45 3/4		Ashmolean; Jordan Hoard (IGCH 1482)	Kraay & Moorey, p. 190, no. 83, pl. XXI.
214	o4-r6	10.13	3	ANS 1977.158.594; bequest of Robert F. Kelley, April 1977 (Spink)	
215	o5-r7	10.50		Malloy, Mar. 1973, no. 219; Myers-Adams, Dec. 1973, no. 222; Schulman, May 1966, no. 729	
216	o6-r8	11.29	6	BM RPK D.2., p.164; R. Payne Knight Collection	Combe, p. 242, no. 6; de Luynes, p. 3, pl. I.5; Six 1883, p. 270, no. 15.1; BMC, Salamis 14, p. 48, pl. IX.12; Payne Knight D.2, p. 164; Brandis, <i>Versuch Ent. Kypr. Schr.</i> , p. 666, no. 42
					rev: lower sprays are palmettes

217	o7-r9	9.72	n/a	Sternberg, Nov. 1992, no. 112	
218	o8-r10	frag	n/a	Ashmolean; Jordan Hoard (IGCH 1482)	Kraay & Moorey 1968, p. 190, no. 84, pl. XXI (Kraay: 'ke' - not a <i>ke</i> , inscr. is in fact <i>se to</i>)

Thirds

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
219	o1-r1	3.45	7	BN; Feuardent 1891; L 2612	Babelon 1893, p. 84, no. 568, pl. XVI, fig. 9; BMC, p. lxxxvii, 5c, pl. XXIII, 5; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 582, no. 935, pl. XXVI, fig. 12 rev.: single dotted circle
220		a 3.58	3	Leiden; Six Collection	

D.V. Ki Ankh

<i>obv.</i> as above with ram lying on ground line	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ku</i> ; large stylised sprays in corners with berries; r.: <i>ki</i> ; incuse square
--	---

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
221	o1-r1 (1)	11.11	6	BM 1870 11-2-26; Feuardent; Lang, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	Lang, p. 14, no. 22; Six 1883, p. 270, no. 16; BMC, Salamis 21, p. 49, pl. IX.18; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 582, no. 934 bis; Price 1969, p. 1.
	a(2)			BN	

D.VI. Ke Ankh

<i>obv.</i> as above	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ku</i> ; sprays in corners; r.: <i>ke</i> ; l.: ?; incuse square
----------------------	--

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
222	o1-r1	11.05	9	BM 1902 1-3-72; Lang 1902; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	BMC, Salamis 22, p. 49, pl. IX.19; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 582, no. 934 ter; Price 1969, p. 1.

D.VII. Ko Ru Ankh

D.VII.a. without disc and crescent

<i>obv.</i> ram lying r. on dotted ground line; above: <i>we u e</i> ; below: <i>se to to le</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ku</i> ; l.: <i>ko</i> ; r.: <i>ru</i> ; incuse square
--	--

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
223	o1-r1	n/a	12	CM GR. 78; Gunther Collection	Dikaïos 1961, p. 175, no. 6, pl. XIX
224	NAS	n/a		CM; Gunther Collection	Dikaïos 1961, p. 175, no. 7

Thirds

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
225	o1-r1	3.58	12	BM 1925 1-5-23; Spink (Col. Massey) (part exchange); xxiii 6 (?)	BMC, p. lxxxvii, 7b, pl. XXIII, 6; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 584, no. 936 bis
226	NAS	n/a	n/a	Glendining, 7 July 1914, no. 21; Asia Minor Hoard (IGCH 1252)	

Sixths

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
227	o1-r1	1.636	12	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1984-01-06	CCEMAB 1991, no. 7; 1994, no. 7
	a	1.90	12	BN	Six 1883, p. 271, no. 18, pl. VI, fig. 2; Babelon 1893, p. 84, no. 569, pl. XVI, fig. 10; BMC, p. lxxxvii, 7 b, pl. XIII, 7; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 584, no. 937, pl. XXVI, fig. 14; Babelon 1930, p. 109, no. 2930
228	o2-r2	1.77	9	Leiden; Six Collection	rev.: <i>ko ru</i> not visible
	a	1.82	3	BM 1934 5-10-3; G.F. Hill	rev.: <i>ko ru</i> not visible

D.VII.b. disc and crescent

<i>obv.</i> ram lying r. on dotted ground line; above: ball in inverted crescent; dotted border; above crescent: above: ... <i>u e</i> ; below: <i>le to to se</i> [<i>to to retrograde</i>])	<i>rev.</i> as above with sprays of three leaves in four corners
--	---

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
229	o1-r1 (1)	11.70	9	BN; Massyaf Hoard (IGCH 1483)	Kraay & Moorey, p. 216, no. 63, pl. XXVI
	a(2)			Ciani-Vinchone, Feb. 1956, no. 600, Hindamian Collection	rev.: singular dotted circle
230	o1-r2 (3)	11.57	6	BM 1870 11-2-28; Feurdent; Lang, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	BMC, Salamis 23, p. 50, pl. X.1; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 582, no. 936; Price 1969, p. 1.; ICS, p. 319, no. 321, pl. LIV, 2

	b(4)	10.96		Naville X, June 1925, no. 739; BM duplicate, Naville Geneva, June 1923, no. 2770; Lang, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	Lang, p. 14, no. 24; Six 1883, p. 271, no. 20; BMC, Salamis 24, p. 50, pl. X.2; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 582, no. 936; Price 1969, p. 1.
	c(5)	9.25		Mesopotamia Hoard (IGCH 1747)	Robinson 1950, p. 45, no. 12.
231	o1-r3 (6)	11.54	4:30	BM 1870 11-2-27; Feuardent; Lang, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	Lang, p. 14, no. 23; Six 1883, p. 271, no. 19, pl. VII, fig. 20; BMC, Salamis 25, p. 50, pl. X.3; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 582, no. 936; Price 1969, p. 1. rev.: <i>ko ru</i> reversed
232	o2-r4	10.17	10	Danish National Museum; Hirsch 25, 1909, Philipsen Collection, no. 2805	SNG, Copenhagen, no. 35, pl. Cyprus 1 (<i>'ba'</i> rev. - unlikely)
233	NAS			CM; Gunther Collection	Dikaios 1961, p. 175, no. 7

Sixth

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
234	o1-r1	1.74	6.30	BM 1919 11-20-130; Spink W.T. Ready; Weber Collection	Weber, no. 7720; BMC, p. lxxxvii, 7 c, pl. XXIII, 8; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 584, no. 937 bis obv.: inscription not retrograde rev.: <i>ku</i> centre

D.VIII. Basi Eu

D.VIII.a. uninscribed reverse

obv. ram lying l.; l.: ankh; above: *u e si ba* *rev.* ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: pellet; sprays of three leaves in four corners; incuse square

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
235	o1-r1	11.34	3	University of Glasgow	de Luynes, p. 5, no. 1, pl. XII.1; Six 1883, p. 271, no. 21.1; McDonald, Salamis 1, pl. LXI.13; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 586, no. 939
		a 11.03	12	BM 1870 11-2-23; Feuardent; Lang, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	Lang, p. 13, no. 19; Six 1883, p. 270, no. 13.2; BMC, Salamis 27, p. 51, pl. X.5; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 586, no. 939; Price 1969, p. 1.
236	NAS	n/a	n/a	Malayer Hoard (IGCH 1790)	Kraay & Moorey, p. 232
237	NAS	10.92		Klagenfurt	Six 1883, p. 271, no. 21.2; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 586, no. 939 rev.: singular dotted circle

Thirds

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
238	o1-r1	3.48	12	Berlin 11683	rev: no sprays
239	o2-r2	3.21	12	Berlin; C.R. Fox (1873)	rev: <i>ku</i> centre

D.VIII.b. *sa* reverse

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; inscription illegible <i>rev.</i> ankh, linear? circle, centre: pellet; l.: <i>sa</i> ; incuse square

Sixths

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
240	o1-r1	1.4	10	Adonis Kyrou Collection	Destrooper-Georgiades 1989, p. 204, no. 24, pl. 85
		a 1.67		Weber Collection	Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 586, no. 939 bis

D.IX. Fractions

D.IX.a. blank centre ankh

<i>obv.</i> ram's head l.	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle; incuse square
---------------------------	--

12th of a Stater (?)

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
241	o1-r1	0.94	7	BM 1920 4-22-8; Weber Collection; Spink 1894 -171	Weber, no. 7723, pl. 280 rev.: singular dotted circle; incuse circle
242	o2-r1	0.77	7	ANS 1951.116.222; Gunther Collection, no. 64 a, 73 a, b, March 1949	rev.: singular dotted circle; incuse circle
243	o2-r2	0.88		Ashmolean; Jordan Hoard (IGCH 1482)	Kraay & Moorey, p. 190, no. 85, pl. XXI.
244	o3-r3	0.84		Massey Collection	BMC, p. lxxxvi, 3b, pl. XXIII. 4
245	o4-r4	0.89	7	BM 1925 1-5-30; Spink (Col. Massey) (part exchange)	rev.: only circle of ankh?
246	o5-r5	0.85	5	ANS 1951.116.177; Gunther Collection, no. 74 a, March 1949	
247	o6-r6	0.84	6	ANS 1951.116.223; Gunther Collection, no. 64 a, 73 a, b, March 1949	rev.: singular dotted circle; incuse circle
248	o7-r7	0.81	12	ANS 1951.116.221; Gunther Collection, no. 64 a, 73 a b, March 1949	rev.: singular dotted circle; incuse circle
249	o8-r8	n/a	n/a	Galata Sacra Monetà, Winter 1985, no. 44	

24th of a Stater (?)

250	o1-r1	0.41		BM 1923 11-5-17; Spink; ex Jelajian	Hill 1924, p. 14, no. 22, pl. II. rev.: singular dotted circle; incuse circle
-----	-------	------	--	-------------------------------------	--

251o1-r20.420BM 1903 5-513; Noury Bay; Haslem Grohenrev.: singular dotted circle; incuse circle

D.IX.b. *ba* centre ankh

<i>obv.</i> as above	<i>rev.</i> ankh, dotted circle, centre: <i>ba</i> ; incuse square
----------------------	--

12th of a Stater (?)

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
252	o1-r1	0.81	6	Leiden; Six Collection; Cat. Bompois, no. 1656	Six 1883, p. 275, no. 32.1
253	o2-r1	0.86		Munich	
254	o2-r2	0.80	1	BM 1925 1-5-31; Spink (Col. Massey) (part exchange)	Six 1883, p. 275, no. 32.1?
	a	0.79	12	BN E 655	Six 1883, p. 275, no. 32.2, pl. VI, fig. 4?; Babelon 1893, p. 85, no. 572, pl. XVI, fig. 13; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 592, no. 942 bis, pl. XXVI, fig. 19
	b	0.84		Hirsch 20, Hoskier 1907, no. 431	
	c	n/a		Schulman, May, 1970, no. 152	
255	o3-r2	0.81	8	ANS 1951.116.224; Gunther Collection, no. 846, March 1949	
256	o4-r3	0.78	7:30	BM 1925 1-5-31; Spink (Col. Massey) (part exchange); ex Burbury	

D.IX.c. *lo* centre ankh

<i>obv.</i> as above	<i>rev.</i> ankh, dotted circle, centre: <i>lo</i> ; incuse
----------------------	---

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
257	o1-r1	0.76	9	ANS 1951.116.225; Gunther Collection, no. 74 b, March 1949	double strike?

D.IX.d. *ku* centre ankh

<i>obv.</i> ram's head r.; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ku</i> ; incuse square
--	--

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
258	o1-r1	0.76	12	BM 1923 11-5-16; Spink; ex Jelajian	
		a 0.92		Egger 46, 1914, no. 2319	
259	o2-r2	0.88	3	BN 1988/96; Vinchon 11-13, IV, 1988, no. 532; Naville, Geneva, BM duplicate, June 1923, no. 2771	Amandry 1992, no. 1, pl. 1.
		a 0.82	12	Danish National Museum; Lambros 1896	BMC, p. lxxxviii, 7e, pl. XXIII, 9; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 584, no. 938; SNG, Copenhagen, no. 34, pl. Cyprus 1
260	o3-r2	0.90	12	Ashmolean; AW Pullan Bequest, Baldwin's 10.4.1990; Pozzi Collection, Geneva 1921, no. 2887	
261	o4-r2	0.84		Pozzi Collection, Geneva, 1921, no. 2888	

48th of a Stater (?)

262	o1-r1	0.23		Weber Collection	Weber, no. 7719 obv.: no dotted border rev.: only circle of ankh
-----	-------	------	--	------------------	--

263	TW	0.34		CM 1965; Salamis, Necropolis, Tomb 89 (1965)	Karageorghis 1970, p. 139, tomb 89, no. 33 - Appendix 1: Helly, p. 237, no. 6, fig. 6
264	TW	0.36		CM 1967; Salamis Necropolis, Tomb 36	Karageorghis 1970, p. 68, tomb 37, no. 38a; Appendix 1: Helly, p. 236, no. 1, fig. 1 Helly: 'two syllables to l and r.: <i>ta</i> <i>se</i> '
265	o1-r1	0.38	12?	BM 1923 11-5-19; Spink; ex Jejejan	Hill 1924, p. 14, no. 21, pl. II rev.: only circle of ankh

E. King Mo...

Silver

(Sixth Century BC ??)

E.I. Uninscribed

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ram's head l.; square dotted border; incuse square
---	---

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
266	o1-r1	10.32	12	BM 1870 11-2-15; Feuardent; Lang, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	Lang, p. 13, no. 12; Six 1883, p. 276, no. 33; BMC, Salamis 35, p. 53, pl. X.13; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2, p. 700, no. 1132, pl. CXVII, fig. 4; Price 1969, p. 1. rev.: ram's head r.; above to r.: palmette
267	o1-r2	10.98	5:30	BM 1870 11-2-17; Feuardent; Lang, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	Lang, p. 13, no. 14; Six 1883, p. 277, no. 34; BMC, Salamis 33, p. 52, pl. X.11; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2, p. 698, no. 1130, pl. CXXVII, fig. 2; Price 1969, p. 1.
268	o2-r3	8.56	?	ANS 1951.116.226; Gunther Collection, no. 291, March 1949	
269	o3-r4	10.38	12	BM 1912 10-13-22; Lang	

E.II. Mo...

<i>obv.</i> as above	<i>rev.</i> ram's head l.; to l. laurel branch; below: ? ? <i>mo</i> ; incuse square
----------------------	---

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
270	o1-r1	10.81	5	BM 1870 11-2-16; Feuardent; Lang, Dali, 1870; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	Lang, p. 13, no. 13; Six 1883, p. 277, no. 35, pl. VII, fig. 21; BMC, Salamis 34, p. 53, pl. X.12; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2, p. 698, no. 1131, pl. CXXVII, fig. 3; Price 1969, p. 1.
		a 10.48	2	CM 419; Larnaca Hoard (IGCH 1277)	Dikaios 1961, p. 176, no. 8; Dikaios 1935, p. 173, no. 525, pl. XV, no. 4; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, no. 89

E.III. Evelthon / Mo...

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; below: <i>ne to</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ram's head r.; below neck: ankh; incuse square
--	--

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
271	o1-r1	10.85	6	BM 1902 1-3-71; Lang, 1902; Dali Hoard I (IGCH 1275)	BMC, Salamis 36, p. 53, pl. X.14; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2, p. 698, no. 1133, pl. CXXVII, fig. 5; Price 1969, p. 1.

F. King Phausis

Silver

(c. 480 BC)

F.I. Evelthon / Phausis

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: <i>we u e</i> ; below: .. <i>to le</i> ; dotted border?	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ba</i> ; corners: <i>si u / o ba</i> ; incuse square
--	--

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
272	o1-r1	n/a	6	Private Collection; Gorni, Nov. 1994	
		a 10.77		Bourgey, June, 1959, no. 583	
		b? 10.449	2	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1984-01-09	CCEMAB 1991, no. 8; 1994, no. 8 (rev. NAS)

F.II.Phausis / Basileos

F.II.a. without disc and crescent

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l. on dotted ground line; above: <i>si u ba</i> ; below: .. <i>se o</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ba</i> ; corners: <i>si ba / le o</i> ; incuse square
---	---

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
273	o1-r1	10.72		Jameson Collection	Jameson, I, no. 1628; Babelon <i>Traité</i> 2, p. 698, no. 1129, pl. CXXVII, fig. 1; Kagan & McGregor, p. 4, no. 4 obv.: no dotted ground line rev.: lower r. syllable - <i>ri</i> ?

274	o1-r2	10.93	9	BM 1898 10-2-10; W.T. Ready (Hoffman Sale, 666)	BMC, Salamis, p. 51, no. 28, pl. X.6; Kagan & McGregor, p.5, no. 8
	a	11.08	12	Ashmolean; exchanged Münz und Med. Basel 1 Jan 1958; Kelenderis Hoard (IGCH 1255)	Kraay 1962, p. 1, pl. II, no. 18; ACGC, no. 1080; Brown & Catling, p. 57, pl. xxv. a; Kagan & McGregor, p. 5, no. 9
275	o1-r3	8.98	5	BN E 302; Catal. Behr, p. 123, no. 70, pl. II, 4	Six 1883, p. 273, no. 24; Babelon 1893, p. 84, no. 570, pl. XVI, fig. 11; BMC, p. xc, 1, pl. XXIII, 10; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 590, no. 940; pl. XXVI, fig. 15; Kagan & McGregor, p. 5, no. 10 obv.: winged disk? rev.: upper syllables: <i>le si/ ... o</i>
276	o2-r4			Private Collection; NFA, Sept. 1993, no. 338; Cilicia 1983 ?	Kagan & McGregor, p. 4, no. 1 rev.: upper syllables: <i>si se</i>
	a	10.78	10	cast in ANS; Peus, Nov. 1973, no. 166; Nussbaum Collection 10/13/1936; Pozzi Collection, Geneva 1921, no. 2889	Kagan & McGregor, p. 4, no. 2.
277	o3-r5	10.79	7	BM I.C. p. 242, n.6 (?); W.T. Ready (Hoffman Sale, 666)	de Luynes, p. 3, pl. I.6; Six 1883, p. 273, no. 23; BMC, Salamis, p. 51, no. 29, pl. X.7; I.C. p. 242. no. 6 (same coin?); Kagan & McGregor, p. 4, no. 3 rev.: upper syllables: <i>si se</i>
278	o3-r6	10.40		Giessener Münz., Apr. 1990, no. 534; Hirsch, Dec. 1989, no. 365	
279	o4-r7	10.72	9	Danish National Museum; Lambros 1904	SNG, Copenhagen, no. 36, pl. Cyprus 1; Kagan & McGregor, p. 5, no. 8 rev.: lower r. syll.: <i>se</i>

Sixths

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
280	o1-r1	1.79	3	BM 1925 1-5-25; Spink (Col. Massey) (part exchange)	BMC, p. xci, 7, pl. XXIII. 12; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 590, no. 942; Kagan & McGregor, p. 4, no. 5 obv.: no ground line rev.: no corner syllables

281

o2-r1

1.77

9

ANS 1953.30.22; Gunther
Collection (lot 3), March
1949

Kagan & McGregor, p. 4, no. 6
obv.: no ground line
rev.: no corner syllables

F.II.b. disc and crescent, lying left

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l. on dotted ground line; above: <i>si u ba</i> and inverted crescent and disc above upper inscription; below: .. <i>se o</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ba</i> ; corners: <i>si ba / le o</i> ; incuse circle
---	--

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
282	o1-r1	11.11		Sternberg, Nov. 1983, no. 243	

F.II.c. disc and crescent, lying right

<i>obv.</i> ram lying r. on dotted ground line; above: inverted crescent and disc and <i>ba</i> ; below: ... <i>si u</i> ...	<i>rev.</i> as above; corners: upper: <i>se</i> ...; lower: <i>o le</i>
--	--

Statens

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
283	o1-r1	11.16		Credit Suisse, Autumn, 1987, no. 31; Hirsch 154, May 1987, no. 277; Hirsch, Nov. 1986, no. 220	
		a 10.61		Bankhaus Aufäuser, Oct. 1990, no. 263	

F.III. Basileo Phausis / Phausis

Staters

a. blank? centre ankh

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: winged disc and <i>o le si ba</i> ; below: ...	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: blank?; corners: <i>u ba / si o</i> ; incuse square
--	--

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
284	o1-r1	11.09		Private Collection (shown at BM)	Kagan & McGregor, p. 6, no. 11

F.III.b. *ba* centre ankh

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: winged disc and <i>u ..</i> ; second row: <i>o le si ...</i> ; below: <i>o si u</i>	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ba</i> ; corners: <i>u ... / ba ...</i> ; incuse square
--	---

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
285	o1-r1	11.06	3	BM 1847 11-1-156; Baron Knobelsdorff, Cyprus 1847	de Luynes, p. 5, no. 10, pl. VI; Six 1883, p. 273, no. 22; <i>BMC</i> , Salamis, p. 51, no. 30, pl. X.8; <i>ICS</i> , p. 320, no. 322b, pl. LIV, 3; Kagan & McGregor, p. 6, no. 13 <i>obv.</i> : overstrike?

F.IV. Basileo Phausis / Basileo?

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: <i>le si ba</i> ; below: obliterated	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: ?; corners: /... <i>le</i> ; incuse square
--	--

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
286	o1-r1	10.98	5	BM 1925 1-5-22; Spink (Col. Massey)	Hill, p. xci, no. 6?; Kagan & McGregor, p. 6, no. 12

F.V. Basileo Phausis / blank corners

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: grain of barley and <i>wo le si ba</i> ; below: <i>wo si u ba</i>	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ba</i> ; incuse square
---	--

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
287	o1-r1	n/a	6	CM G.C. 75	NAS (on display in CM)

Sixths

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
288	o1-r1	1.62	10	BM 1925 1-5-24; Spink (Col. Massey) (part exchange)	BMC, p. xci, 8, pl. XXIII, 13; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 590, no. 942; Kagan & McGregor, p. 6, no. 14 <i>obv.</i> : lower inscription: se added to end <i>rev.</i> : singular dotted circle
		a 1.63	3	ANS 1944.100.58044; Newell Collection	Newell, <i>AJN</i> 1914, p. 68 ff, pl. IX, no. 30; <i>ICS</i> , p. 320, no. 322c, pl. LIV, 4-5; Kagan & McGregor, p. 6, no. 14 <i>obv.</i> : lower inscription: se added to end <i>rev.</i> : singular dotted circle

G. Uncertain Authority

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; illegible	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ba</i> ; four corners: <i>u sa / ...</i> ; incuse square
-------------------------------------	--

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
289	o1-r1	10.57	6	ANS 1967.152.548; Newell Collection	

H. Timile...?

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: <i>le mi? ti?</i> ; below: illegible	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle?, centre: <i>ba</i> ; to l.: <i>te</i> ; incuse square
---	--

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
290	o1- r1	11.00	3	Münz. & Med., Jan. 1981, no. 21	

I. King Nikodamos

Silver

(c. 460 BC)

I.I. Selamini

I.I.a. *ni* centre ankh

Thirds

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: <i>le si ba</i> ; l.: <i>se wo</i> ; below: <i>mo ta ko ni</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ni</i> ; corners: <i>mi la / ni se</i> ; incuse square
--	--

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
291	o1-r1	2.70	12	Danish National Museum; Gréau no. 1963	Six 1883, p. 275, no. 29.2; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 594, no. 948; SNG, Copenhagen, no. 37, pl. Cyprus 1 obv.: dotted border not visible
292	o1-r2	3.37	3	BN; Waddington Collection	Babelon 1897, p. 275, no. 4804, pl. XIII, fig. 4; BMC, p. xciii, 2a, pl. XXIII, 16; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 594, no. 946, pl. XXVI, fig. 23
		a 3.05	3	Manchester University; Glendining, 19.5.1942, 199	SNG, Manchester, no. 1310, pl.
293	o2-r2	2.93	4	BN; Hoffmann 1862; E 1634	de Luynes, p. 4, no. 9; Six 1883, p. 274, no. 27.1; Babelon 1893, p. 85, no. 574, pl. XVI, fig. 15; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 592, no. 944, pl. XXVI, fig. 21; Rochette, p. 61, 10, pl. II, 11 obv.: dotted border not visible
294	o2-r3	3.26		Spink, May 1981, no. 59; Münz. & Med., Basel, Dec. 1975, no. 180	
295	NAS			CM	Dikaios 1961, p. 176, no. 9

I.I.b. blank centre ankh

DIE NUMBERS ARE CONTINUOUS due to obverse matches between groups

<i>obv.</i> as above	<i>rev.</i> ankh, double linear circle and double horizontal bar; centre: blank; corners: <i>mi la / ni se</i> ; incuse square
----------------------	--

Thirds

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
296	o2-r4	3.14	9	Berlin; C.R. Fox (1873)	
297	o3-r4	3.15	11	ANS 1944.100.58040; Newell Collection	
298	o3-r5	3.45	4	BM 1925 1-5-27; Spink (Co. Massey) (part exchange)	BMC, p. xcii, 1, pl. XXIII, 14; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 594, no. 945 rev.: corners reversed: <i>la mi / se ni</i>
		a 3.24	9	BN	Babelon 1897, p. 275, no. 4805, pl. XIII, fig. 5; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 594, no. 945, pl. XXVI, fig. 22 rev.: corners reversed: <i>la mi / se ni</i>
		b 3.82		Münz. & Med., Dec. 1975, no. 179	rev.: corners reversed: <i>la mi / se ni</i>
299	o3-r6	3.36		Athena Sales, May 1990, no. 225	
300	o3-r7	3.26		Collection of A.G. Pitsallides	
301	o4-r6	3.36	6	Berlin 9966	
302	o4-r8	3.24	2	ANS 1951.116.202; Gunther Collection, no. 81 a & b; March 1949	rev.: corners reversed: <i>la mi / se ni</i>
303	o5-r7	3.20	5	BM 1906 4-2-11; Lambros	
304	o5-r9	3.16	3	Berlin 9964	Six 1883, p. 274, no. 26.4; Brandis, <i>Versuch Ent. Kypr. Schr.</i> , p. 663, no. 33; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 592, no. 943

305	o6-r9	3.39	6	BM 1862 7-17-16; Eastwood, 1862	Six 1883, p. 274, no. 26.3 (and 2? - same coin?); BMC, Salamis 31, p. 52, pl. X.9; ICS, p. 320, no. 323a, pl. LIV, 6
306	o6-r10	3.31	9	ANS 1951.116.204; Gunther Collection, no. 82 b&c, March 1949	
307	o5-r11	3.25	6	BN	Six 1883, p. 274, no. 26.1, pl. VI, fig. 3; Babelon 1893, p. 85, no. 573, pl. XVI, fig. 14; BMC, p. xcii, 1, pl. XXIII, 15; Babelon <i>Traité</i> 1, p. 592, no. 943, pl. XXVI, fig. 20
308	o5-r12	3.24	5	BM 1925 1-5-28; Spink (Co. Massey) (part exchange)	rev.: corners reversed: <i>la mi / se ni</i>
309	o7-r12	3.22	4	ANS 1951.116.203; Gunther Collection no. 81 a & b; March 1949	rev.: corners reversed: <i>la mi / se ni</i>
310	pl. Fake?	2.56 pl	5?	ANS 1951.116.206; Gunther Collection, no. 71, 72c, 79; March 1949	
	a	2.40 pl	3	ANS 1951.116.205; Gunther Collection, no. 71, 72 c, 79; March 1949	
311	pl. Fake?	2.93 pl	12	ANS 1951.116.207; Gunther Collection, no. 71, 72 c, 79, March 1949	
	NAS			CM	Dikaïos 1961, p. 176, no. 9 rev.: singular linear circle and two cross bars, pellet? centre

Sixths

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
313	o1-r1	1.62	11	BM 1870 1-1-1; Mr. Clarke	Six 1883, p. 274, no. 27; BMC, Salamis 32, p. 52, pl. X.10; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 594, no. 946 bis obv.: no dotted border
314	o1-r2	1.37		Weber Collection	Weber, no. 7721
315	o2-r3	1.73	4	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1992-02-05	CCEMAB 1994, no. 10

I.I.c. fractions

12th of a Stater (?)

<i>obv.</i> ram's head l.	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle; corners: <i>mi la / ni se</i> ; incuse square
---------------------------	--

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
316	o2-r4	0.73?		BM 1974 11-9-12; Stebbing bequest	
317	o3-r5	0.662	6	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1984-01-10	CCEMAB 1991, no. 10; 1994, no. 11 overstrike <i>rev.</i> : singular dotted circle
318	o4-r6	0.88	12	Collection of A. Spaer	<i>obv.</i> : singular dotted circle
319	o4-r7	0.77	9	BN; M. et F. Dosseur 1898; M 2626	Babelon 1893, p. 85, no. 575, pl. XVI, fig. 16; BMC, p. xciii, 3b, pl. XXIII, 20; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 594, no. 947 bis, pl. XXVI, fig. 18
		a 0.86	11	BN	Babelon 1897, p. 275, no. 4806; BMC p. xciii, 2d, pl. XXIII, 18; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 594, no. 947 bis, pl. XXVI, fig. 17
320	NAS			CM	Dikaios 1961, p. 176, no. 9

I.II. kalarita

I.II.a. *ba* centre ankh

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: <i>le si ba</i> ; l.: <i>se wo</i> ; below: <i>mo ta ko ni</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ba</i> ; corners: <i>ri la / ta ka</i> ; incuse square
--	--

Thirds

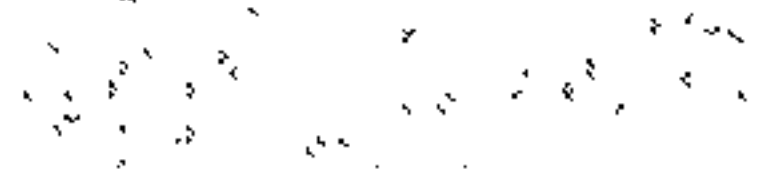

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
321	o7-r13	3.35	1	BN	de Luynes, p. 4, no. 11; Six 1883, p. 275, no. 29.1; Babelon 1893, no. 575; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 596, no. 948; Babelon 1930, p. 109, no. 2931; <i>ICS</i> , p. 321, no. 323e, pl. LIV, 7 rev.: centre: <i>ni</i>
322	o7-r14	3.32	10	BM 1925 1-5-29; Spink (Col. Massey) (part exchange)	<i>BMC</i> , p. xciii, 3a, pl. XXIII, 19; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 596, no. 948 bis

Sixths

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
323	o3-r4	1.50	12	BM 1928 2-2-2; from Cyprus; Nichollis	Hill 1929, p. 190, no. 15, pl. VIII coin used for ANS-Gunther fakes
		a 1.53	11	ANS 1951.116.214; Gunther Collection, no. 66, 77a, 86 (3 coins) 87a, c, March 1949	
		b 1.33	12	ANS 1951.116.213; Gunther Collection, no. 66, 77a, 86 (3 coins) 87 a, c, March 1949	
		c 1.58	12	Berlin; Prokesch-Osten (1875)	Brandis, <i>Versuch Ent. Kypr. Schr.</i> , p. 656, no. 12; Six 1883, p. 275, no. 30.1; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 596, no. 949
		d 1.41	12	Berlin 9965	Brandis, <i>Versuch Ent. Kypr. Schr.</i> , p. 656, no. 12; Six 1883, p. 275, no. 30.2; <i>BMC</i> , p. xciii, 3c, pl. XXIII, 21; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, 1910, p. 596, no. 949

I.II.b. fractions

12th of a Stater (?)

obv. ram's head l.rev. ankh, dotted circle, centre: *ba*;
corners: *ri la / ta ka*; incuse
square

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
324	o4-r8	0.86	12	BM 1923 11-5-13; Spink; ex Jelajian	Hill 1924, p. 13, no. 18, pl. II.
		a 0.79	6:30	BM 1923 11-5-14; Spink; ex Jelajian	Hill 1924, p. 13, no. 19, pl. II.
		b 0.87	6	ANS 1944.100.58042; Newell Collection	

I.III. selasi...

obv. ram lying l.; above: small ankhrev. ankh, linear circle surrounded by
dotted circle, centre: *ba*; corners: *si*
la / ... se; incuse square

Third

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
325	o11-r16	3.15	6	ANS 1951.116.209; Gunther Collection, no. 138, March 1949	

I.IV. Evelthon / Nikotamo

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.; above: <i>we u e</i> ; below: .. to to ..	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ba</i> ; corners: ko ... / ta mo
--	--

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
326	o1-r1	11.08	12	ANS 1970.67.49; Wm. F. Spengler, Dec. 1969; Balkh Hoard (IGCH 1820)	Troxell & Spengler, p. 6, no. 17, pl. II.

I.V. blank corners

I.V.a. *ni* centre ankh

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l.;above: <i>ni si ba</i> ; below: mo ta ko	<i>rev.</i> ankh, linear circle surrounded by dotted circle, centre: <i>ni</i> ; florals of three sprays in four corners
--	--

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
327	o2-r2	6.73 (3/4)	11	Berlin 1125/1912; Hirsch 32, 578	

Third

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
328	o12-r17	3.57	6	Leu, May 1996, no. 230	<i>rev.</i> : no floral sprays

Sixth

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
329	o4-r5	1.70	6	BM 1919 11-20-129; Spink; Weber Collection; Sotheby 1: XI: 95, est. 131	Weber 1896, p. 30, no. 62, pl. III, 15; Weber, no. 7722; BMC, p. xciii, c, pl. XXIII, 17; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 594, no. 947

I.V.b. fractions

12th of a Stater (?)

<i>obv.</i> ram's head l.	<i>rev.</i> ankh, dotted circle, centre: blank; incuse square
---------------------------	--

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
330	o1-r1	0.84	3	BM 1906 4-2-12; Lambros	<i>rev.</i> : linear circle and double cross bar
331	o2-r2	0.80	7	Ashmolean; G. Petrakides 11/- Jan. 1953	<i>rev.</i> : linear circle
332	o2-r3	0.93	12	ANS 1953.30.24; Gunther Collection (lot 3), March 1949	
333	o3-r3	0.84	10	BM 1923 11-5-15; Spink; ex Jelajian	Hill 1924, p. 13, no. 20, pl. II
		a 0.824	12	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1984-01-11	CCEMAB 1991, no. 13; 1994, no. 14, pl. I
334	NAS			Turin	Six 1883, p. 275, no. 31; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 1, p. 592, no. 942 ter

I.VI. Ram's Head Reverse

<i>obv.</i> ram lying r. on dotted ground line; above: <i>wo le si ba</i> , above that: pitcher; below: <i>mo ta ko ni se</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ram's head l.; above: grain of barley; below: ivy branch; incuse circle
--	--

Stater

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
335	o3-r3	11.05		Private Collection; Bank Leu, May 1974, no. 169	

J. King Evanthes

Silver

(c. 450 BC)

J.I. Euwateteose / Basi lo -

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l. on dotted ground line; above: <i>te wa u e</i> ; l.: <i>ba?</i> ; below: <i>se o</i> <i>te</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ram's head l.; above: <i>lo ...</i> ; to r.: <i>-</i> ; below: <i>si ba</i> ; linear border; incuse circle
---	--

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
336	o1-r1	11.13	6	BN; Rollin 1843	Mionnet, III, no. 682; Pellerin, III, pl. 122, 4; de Luynes, p. 3, pl. I, 3; Six 1883, p. 278, no. 37.2; Babelon 1893, p. 85, no. 576, pl. XVI, fig. 17; BMC, p. xcvi, 1, pl. XXIV, 1; Babelon <i>Traité</i> 2, p. 700, no. 1135, pl. CXXVII, fig. 7; Brandis, <i>Versuch Ent. Kypr. Schr.</i> , p. 657, no. 12 obv: chisel cut?
		a 10.280	6	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1986-05-01	CCMAB 1991, no. 11; 1994, no. 12, pl. I
		b 11.22		Vienna; Rollin 1843	de Luynes, p. 3, pl. I, 2.; Six 1883, p. 277, no. 37; BMC, p. xcvi, no. 1, pl. XXIV, 1; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2, 1910, p. 700, no. 1135
337	o1-r2	9.90		Kabul Hoard (IGCH 1830)	Schlumberger, p. 36, no. 30, pl. II rev.: above: ... <i>u e</i> ; dotted border

J.II. Euwateteose / ba

DIE NUMBERS ARE CONTINUOUS WITHIN DENOMINATIONS

<i>obv.</i> as above	<i>rev.</i> ram's head r.; below: <i>ba</i> ; shallow incuse circle
----------------------	--

Staters

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
338	o1-r3	11.37	5:30	BM RPK D.1, p. 164; R. Payne Knight	Payne Knight, p. 164, D1; de Luynes, p. 3, pl. I.1; Six 1883, p. 277, no. 36.1; BMC, Salamis 38, p. 53, pl. XI.1; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2, p. 700, no. 1136, pl. CXXVII, fig. 8
		a 11.11		BM duplicate; Naville Geneva, BM duplicate, June 1923, no. 2772	Payne Knight, p. 164, D1; de Luynes, p. 3, pl. I.4; Six 1883, p. 277, no. 36.2; BMC, Salamis 39, p. 53, pl. XI.2; Babelon <i>Traité</i> 2, p. 700, no. 1136, pl. CXXVII, fig. 8
339	o1-r4	11.02	12	Leu, Zurich, May 1994, no. 143; Bank Leu 28, 1981, no. 190; Hess-Leu, April 1964, no. 228	<i>rev.</i> : no <i>ba</i> ; above: ivy leaves

J.III. Euwateteose / Basilewose

J.III.a. sixths

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l. on dotted ground line; above: <i>te wa u e</i> ; l.: <i>ba?</i> ; below: <i>se o te</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ram's head l.; above: <i>se wo le si ba</i> ; below: ivy branch with leaves; incuse circle
---	--

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
340	o1-r1	1.77	1	BN; 1988/97; Vinchon 11-13, IV, 1988, no. 532; Naville XIV, 1929, no. 407; Weber Collection	Weber, no. 7725; BMC, p. xcvi, no. 3, pl. XXIV, 2; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2, p. 702, no. 1138, pl. CXXVII, fig. 10; Amandry 1992, no. 2, pl. 2.
		a 1.61	6	Berlin; C.R. Fox (1873)	de Luynes, p. 4, pl. I, 12; Six 1883, p. 278, no. 38.2; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2, p. 702, no. 1138

b	1.79	4	Leiden; Six Collection; Davis	Six 1883, p. 278, no. 38.1 1876
c	1.36	12	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1985-01-11	CCEMAB 1991, no. 12; 1994, no. 13 pl. I (rev.)

J.III.b. fractions

24th of a Stater (?)

<i>obv.</i> ram's head l.; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ram's head l.; above: <i>wo e si ba</i> ; below: ivy branch; incuse circle
--	---

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
341	o1-r1	0.53	12	Berlin; Prokesch-Osten (1875)	
342	o2-r2	n/a	n/a	Meyers, Sept. 1971, no. 80	rev.: head r., inscription unclear

J.IV. ku or e / Basilewose

J.IV.a. sixths

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l. on dotted ground line; above: <i>ku</i> or <i>e</i> ?	<i>rev.</i> ram's head l.; above: <i>se wo le si ba</i> ; below: ivy branch with leaves; incuse circle
---	--

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
343	o2-r2	1.42	2	ANS 1944.100.58043; Newell Collection	
344	o3-r3	1.49	12:3 0	BM RPK D.3, p. 164; R. Payne Knight Collection	Payne Knight, p. 164, D3; de Luynes, p. 5, pl. I, no. 13; Six 1883, p. 278, no. 40; BMC, Salamis 40, p. 54, pl. XI.3; Babelon <i>Traité</i> 2, p. 700, no. 1137, pl. CXXVII, fig. 9

J.VI.b. fractions

12th of a Stater (?)

<i>obv.</i> as above; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ram's head l.; above: <i>le si ba</i> ; below: ankh <i>ku</i> or <i>e</i> ; incuse circle
-------------------------------------	---

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
345	o1-r1	0.82	2	BM 1925 1-5-32; Spink (Col. Massey) (part exchange)	BMC, p. xcvi, no. 6, pl. XXIV, 3; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2, p. 702, no. 1141
346	o1-r2	0.76	6	Danish National Museum; E.J. Seltman 1911	SNG, Copenhagen, no. 38, pl. Cyprus 1 obv.: no dotted border

J.V. ba ku / ba ku

J.V.a. sixths

<i>obv.</i> ram lying l. on ground line; above: <i>ku ba</i> ; dotted border	<i>rev.</i> ram's head r.; above: <i>ku</i> [or <i>e</i>] <i>ba</i> ; below: ivy branch; incuse circle
--	---

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
347	o4-r4	1.39	6	BM 1891 7-4-47; Lambros	BMC, Salamis 41, p. 54, pl. XI.4; Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2, p. 702, no. 1139, pl. CXXVII, fig. 11
		a 1.61	2	Ashmolean; Spink; 22 May 1952	
		b 1.81	9	Berlin 9963	Babelon, <i>Traité</i> , 2, p. 702, no. 1139
348	o5-r5	1.60	8	ANS 1951.116.227; Gunther Collection, no. 88a, March 1949	

J.V.b. fractions

12th of a Stater (?)

obv. ram's head l. *rev.* ram's head l.; above: *ku? ba*; below: ivy branch; incuse circle

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
349	o2-r3	0.83	12	BM 1923 11-5-20; Spink; ex Jelajian	

J.VI. Basi Eru

12th of a Stater (?)

obv. as above; dotted border *rev.* ram's head l.; above: *ru e si ba*; below: ankh with dotted circle, centre: pellet; incuse circle

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
350	o3-r4	0.77	2	BM 1956 4-10-9; Baldwin exchange	

J.VII. Uninscribed

12th of a Stater (?)

obv. ram's head l. *rev.* ram's head l.; usually traces of incuse circle

No.	Dies	Wt	Ax	Location/Provenance	References and Notes
351	o4-r5	0.77	1	BN; M. et F. Dosseur 1905; M 6239	Babelon <i>Traité</i> , 2, p. 702, no. 1140, pl. CXXVII, fig. 12 <i>obv.</i> : ram's head r. <i>rev.</i> : V flaw?
352	o4-r6	0.75		Hess - Leu, Dec. 1966, no. 505	<i>obv.</i> : ram's head r. <i>rev.</i> : ram's head r.; below: pitcher; incuse circle

353	o5-r7	0.56	5	ANS 1951.116.229; Gunther Collection, no. 85, March 1949	
354	o6-r8	0.63	12	ANS 1951.116.228; Gunther Collection, no. 135a, March 1949	rev.: ram's head r.; incuse circle
355	o7-r9	0.837		Pitsallides Collection	obv.: dotted border rev.: ram's head r.; incuse circle
356	o8-r10	0.673	3	Bank of Cyprus Collection 1984-01-08	CCEMAB 1991, no. 14; 1994, no. 15 rev.: ram's head r.; below: ankh; incuse circle
357	TW	0.23	10?	ANS 1951.116.230; Gunther Collection, no. 137a, March 1949	

2.ii. Types and Iconography

A. Uninscribed

B. King Evelthon: smooth reverse

The obverse type is a recumbent ram usually to the left. The ram's head and body are in full profile. The details of the face are very difficult to read as in hardly any of the examples is this area well preserved. On the few finely preserved examples, one will notice a long and realistically modelled nose and mouth area with a slight bump just above the eyes and a sinewy modelled lip area with a small slit for the mouth. The ram's horn is thicker on top of the head and becomes progressively thinner as it curves inwards and downwards forming a semi-circle ending just below its eyes. On some examples one can see that the body of the ram is well defined - the chest bulging out slightly from the pressure of lying down, the front (shoulder blades) naturalistically defined in a graceful curve up to the back of the shoulder. The fleece is often well defined with delicately carved individual tufts. Both sets of legs are well tucked under the body, and the rear leg is bent alongside the rear of the body, with the tail tucked under, visible on some examples just behind the rear leg.

A. Uninscribed (nos. 1-21)

Hill, in his *British Museum Catalogue*, did not include an uninscribed ram obverse, not surprisingly as most examples have been found in a recent hoard,¹ though some can now be firmly identified from the Demanhur and Asyut Hoards.² Most of these specimens are in very poor condition, but it is clear with

¹ Asia Minor: CH VIII, 19; Kagan, pp. 17-52.

² Dressel & Regling, nos. 126-128; *Asyut*, p. 108, nos. 789, 796, 807.

the evidence now available that there are examples of this type combination that are uninscribed.

B.I. Nominative / Smooth (nos. 22-125)

However, the vast majority of specimens with this type combination (Group B) are inscribed with the name of Evelthon written in the nominative case: *e-u-we-le-to-ne* (Εὐφέλων).³ The syllables are written retrograde, the first three above the body of the ram, the last three below. The only syllabic variation is on some six examples where the syllable *to* is written retrograde (nos. 37, 42, 43, 54, 55 and 109). This is not a unique phenomenon, however, as many syllables, including the *to* syllable, are sometimes written retrograde.⁴ The only detail added to the field in this series is an ankh placed in front of the ram's breast in the left field on at least one example (see no. 33).⁵ Within this group, there is no reverse type.

B.II. Fractions (nos. 126-175)

The fractional issues incorporate the head of the ram which is cut off at the neck.⁶ On a few of the larger pieces many details may be discerned (see enlarged photo, no. 135, pl. XXXIX). As with the larger denominations, the head is in profile and upright, vertically positioned on the flan. The ram's fleece is finely dotted in neat horizontal rows, with the lowest row at the truncation of the neck often standing out from the rest. The ram's facial features are now much more

³ For relevant discussion regarding type combination and inscription see Six 1883, pp. 266-267, nos. 1-3. Six dates this series to c. 560-525; Babelon 1893, pp. 83-84, nos. 555-565. Babelon dates this series to c. 569-525; *BMC*, pp. lxxv, nos. 1-7. Hill considered these coins with Evelthon written in the nominative to be the earliest of Salamis and dated the reign of Evelthon, no later than c. 525; Babelon *Traité*, 1, pp. 575-578, nos. 919-932, dates Evelthon to c. 560-525; *ACGC*, p. 301; *ICS*, p. 318, no. 319a-c.

⁴ See for example *ICS*, no. 355.

⁵ *BMC*, p. 46, no. 1.

⁶ Six 1883, p. 267, nos. 4-5; *BMC*, p. lxxxv, 1c, nos. 8-11; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 578, nos. 927-929.

clear with his eyes set naturally in a small indentation, his long and fleshy snout and well defined mouth with just the hint of nostrils above. Just behind the eye, the fleece begins alongside the top of the horn which again gracefully curves downwards to a semi-circular ending in a slight secondary curve at the tip. On fine examples one can see a small ear just touching the back of the horn.

One or two syllabic letters (B.II.b and c) are added to some dies in the heavier category: *e-u*⁷ (B.II.c, nos. 170-174) an abbreviation of the King's name. On some examples only the *e*⁸ or the *u*⁹ is visible (see enlarged photo, no. 174, pl. XXXIX), and it is highly probable that there was an issue with the *e* syllable only (B.II.b, nos. 168 and 169). The only other detail added to the field is a dotted border which occurs on some of the lighter specimens.

The smooth reverse of Groups A-C is very rare in the Greek world. It is used later in Etruscan coinage, Cypriot coinage supposedly being its influence.¹⁰ In terms of technique, it is interesting to consider how these smooth types were struck as there is no indication of an incuse. Perhaps there was some sort of very flat broad die placed on top of the flan on which the hammer would be struck. It is interesting to note that we can see die duplicates due to identical flaws in the smooth reverse of the flan which undoubtedly point to the same surface being used to strike these examples.

⁷ BMC, p. lxxxv, ib.

⁸ Six 1883, p. 268, no. 8; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 578, no. 932.

⁹ CCEMAB 1991, no. 4, 1994, no. 4.

¹⁰ D.E. Tripp, 'Coinage', in L. Bonfante (ed.), *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, 1986, p. 203; This Etruscan connection echoes a number of comparisons between Cypriot artistic traditions and Etruscan. See particularly Gjerstad (SCE IV, p. 457) who uses Proto Cypriot sculpture to prove a Tyrhenian 'strain' in Etruscan art. He also recognises the similarities between Cypriot and Etruscan architecture.

nos. 176-178

Eight curious specimens from two hoards,¹¹ are clearly examples of recut dies with a new set of syllables above the ram replacing those previously inscribed. Seven of the eight examples (C.I, nos. 176-177), six of which come from the same die, have at least two legible syllables above the ram, *ki* - which is closest to the ram's head and *no* to the right of *ki* (see enlarged photo, no. 176a, pl. XXXIX). It is likely that the inscription follows the contemporary practice of writing the legend retrograde thus suggesting that the syllables represent the middle of the legend: ...*noki*...¹² Another recut example (C.II, no. 178, see enlarged photo, pl. XXXIX), from the Asyut Hoard, is very difficult to read but could possibly be interpreted as: *la?-no?-we* or *we-we*.¹³ Unfortunately this later specimen is broken on the right and the remainder of the inscription is lost. It is clear, however, that we are dealing with two different inscriptions, or at least two different syllables closest to the ram's head as the questionable *la* on coin no. 178 could not possibly be a *ki*, since it is missing the third downward line on the left of the syllable. It is quite possible that these two series (C.I and II) indicate two different issuing authorities who have recut the dies previously inscribed with the name of Evelthon.

The ram, as far as one can tell, is exactly the same as on previously listed larger denominations. It is important to note that the intended reverse is smooth, as the reverse of no. 178 is an overstrike which reveals the edge of an incuse square.

¹¹ *Asyut*, p. 108, nos. 804-806; and Larnaca: Dikaios 1935, p. 172, nos. 475-476; Robinson 1935, p. 184; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 154, n. 97, nos. 79-80.

¹² *Asyut*, p. 108, nos. 804-805. Price and Waggoner read the inscription as *u we* or *ki*; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, nos. 79-80, n. 97-98 reads the inscription as *la-no*. The syllable closest to the ram's head clearly has a horizontal bar above it making it a *ki* rather than a *la*.; See *ICS*, no. 217, the Idalion Tablet, *ki* on line 22 compared to *la* on line 26.

¹³ *Asyut*, p. 108, no. 806. Price and Waggoner read the inscription as *ki-we*.

nos. 179-265

Within Group D where the reverse type is introduced, the obverse type remains the same, a recumbent ram, although in most examples details are added to the flan. These added details include a dotted border, a disc within an inverted crescent above the ram, an ankh symbol, a square border of dots, and a ground line.

The symbol of the ankh is now introduced as the reverse type within an incuse square. The most basic type of ankh has a linear circle surrounded by a dotted circle and a plain cross for its bottom half. I have categorised many of the issues by their obverse inscriptions and the reverse symbol within the circle of the ankh along with additional signs in the reverse field.

D.I. Ba Ankh (nos. 179-186)

There are a number of staters and two sixths with a *ba* placed in the centre of the ankh where the ram is facing to the left on the obverse. Unfortunately, all of the extant coins in this category are in very poor condition and thus are too worn to read the obverse inscription. It is quite likely that these specimens belong amongst the earliest categories with an ankh reverse type as, in addition to their very worn fabric, there is no sign of additional symbols or details to either obverse or reverse type. Certainly the area surrounding the ankh on the majority of the reverses is quite plain with no added decorative motifs.

D.II. Nominative / Ankh (nos. 187-191)

Alternatively, the ankh reverse series may begin with a number of examples where the obverse inscription is written in the nominative case as in most examples with the smooth reverse.¹⁴ The staters which retain the nominative spelling are divided into two categories in the catalogue. The first group consists of coins which clearly retain the ending *le-to-ne*, and have a *ku* in the centre of the ankh; they are all cut from the same obverse die. There are also two thirds which clearly present the nominative case with a blank centre to the ankh, again from the same obverse and reverse die.

D.III. Nominative? / Ankh (nos. 192-208)

A second series has been deliberately separated; it is made up of those specimens which have illegible endings to the inscription, though there is good reason to believe that the name is in the nominative case. This suspicion is borne out by the fact that the designs of both the obverse and the reverse remain less refined than those examples which have the genitive case and which exhibit details such as a dotted border and ground line added to the obverse and sprays of leaves and additional syllables added to the reverse. All of these specimen have a blank centre to the reverse ankh and, as we have already seen, there are two known thirds which retain the nominative spelling obverse and an ankh with a blank centre reverse (no. 191).

There is one example within this series with a unique addition to the reverse field, a dotted border hugging the contour of the ankh symbol (no. 197).¹⁵ This specimen, however, remains crude in comparison to those with the genitive case.

¹⁴ BMC, p. lxxxvi, 3, nos. 12-13, 18; Babelon *Traité*, 1, pp. 579-580, no. 933.

¹⁵ BMC, no. 20.

As a result of this study I suggest that there was a series of coins produced with the nominative spelling of Evelthon with reverse types of an ankh which incorporate both a blank centre and one with *ku*.

D.IV. Genitive / Ankh (nos. 209-220)

The majority of ankh coins have Evelthon's name in the genitive on the obverse: *e-u-we-le-to-to-se* (Εὐφέλθο(ν)τος)¹⁶ with a dotted border. The simplest reverse type is an ankh with a *ku* in the centre and floral sprays in the four corners of the incuse (see enlarged photo, no. 212, pl. XL). *ku* has generally been agreed to be the initial of the ethnic Κυ(πρίων),¹⁷ although without any full inscription on the coins, this must be considered only a suggestion. The floral sprays at times can be elaborate and stylised much like a palmette (no. 216, see enlarged photo, pl. XL). As with Group B, this combination of types is used for staters, thirds and sixths (the last without sprays).

D.V and VI. Ki and Ke Ankh (nos. 221-222)

On a number of staters in this category one or two additional syllables have been added to the reverse field. These adjunct symbols include a *ki*,¹⁸ a *ke*,¹⁹

¹⁶ Six 1883, pp. 269-270, nos. 10-16, attributes these coins to Gorgos and Onesilos, c. 500-480; Babelon 1893, p. cxiv, nos. 566-569; *BMC*, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxvii, nos. 14-25; Babelon *Traité*, 1, pp. 579-582, nos. 933 bis-934; *ACGC*, p. 301; *ICS*, p. 318, no. 319d. Masson lists a coin (Babelon, *Traité*, 1, no. 930) which has the genitive case and a smooth reverse type. Hill also cites this coin (*BMC*, p. lxxxvi, no. 2a) from the Dali Hoard (Lang, p. 14, no. 25). I have located no such specimen. Lang may have had this type confused with that of a lion lying with head reverted which has been tentatively attributed to Citium.

¹⁷ Six, p. 270, no. 15 interpreted the *ku* as standing for Gorgos; Deecke, 165D; Babelon 1893, p. cxiv, nos. 567-569; *BMC*, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxvii, nos. 14-20 and 26; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 582, no. 934-936; *SCE IV*, p. 473; *ICS*, no. 320a.

¹⁸ Six 1883, p. 270, no. 16 attributed this coin to either Gorgos or Onesilos; Deecke, 167D suggested the reading Γιλλιχας; *BMC*, p. lxxxvii, no. 21; Babelon *Traité*, 1, 1910, p. 582, no. 934 bis; *ICS*, p. 319, no. 320b, also suggests that it stands for the Phoenician name Hiram, also translated Siromos. That this symbol is indeed a *ki*, as opposed to *la*, see *ICS* no. 217 (face B) line 22 compared to *la* in line 26.

¹⁹ *BMC*, p. lxxxvii, no. 6, p. xc, 'does not stand for Χερσις'; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 582, no. 934 ter; *ICS*, p. 319, no. 320c.

and *ko-ru*.²⁰ The example with *ke* (no. 222) is likely be part of a double syllable addition; unfortunately the other syllable is illegible. All three of the *ki* and *ke* specimens have floral sprays in the corners of the reverse, while the obverse includes a dotted border and the introduction of a ground line.

D.VII. Ko Ru Ankh (nos. 223-234)

The coins incorporating *ko-ru* (along with the *ku* centre) to the left and right field of the ankh include staters, thirds and sixths, have no floral spray on the reverse and deviate further from the above as the ram is shown lying to the right (D.VII.a, nos. 223-228, see enlarged photo, no. 227, pl. XL). Again, there have been a number of suggestions as to the meaning of *ko-ru* or *ru-ko*, but none are convincing (see note 20).

A number of the coins bearing the *ko-ru* inscription and floral sprays on the reverse incorporate an interesting addition to the obverse field (D.VII.b, nos. 229-234, see enlarged photo, no. 230, pl. XL). A disc and inverted crescent is added just above the ram, and the inscription below deviates slightly from the majority of inscriptions within this group as the letters *to-to* below the ram are written retrograde. The majority of these examples are staters with the exception of one sixth (no. 234) which has no *ko-ru* reverse, but certainly belongs to this series by the addition of the disc and crescent symbol.

²⁰ Six 1883, p. 271, nos. 18-21 attributed the inscription to Gorgos; Deecke, 168 D read the syllables *pu* and *po*; Babelon 1893, p. cxiv-cxvi, no. 569 read the syllables as *ru* and *po* and combined the *ku* reading *ku-po-ru* 'Kuprou', suggested that these are the initials of a king or magistrate; BMC, p. lxxxvii, nos. 23-25, p. xc disagrees with Six's reading of Gorgos and Babelon's suggestions.; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 582, no. 936, p. 584, nos. 936 bis-937; Head 1911, p. 742, attributes the *ko-ru* issues to successors of Evelthon, c. 520-460; ICS, p. 319, no. 321.

Certainly *ko-ru* can be read as *go-ru*, *gru*, or indeed *gor*. See A. Leukart, 'Syllabaire et dialecte chypriotes classiques', *Chypre des origines au Moyen-Age*, 1975, p. 107.

D.VIII. Basi Eu (nos. 234-240)

There is yet a third obverse inscription with this type combination, again written retrograde: *ba-si e-u*.²¹ This new obverse inscription is to be read as an abbreviation of 'Basileus Evelthon'. In later issues we shall see the abbreviation *ba-si* used widely. These three staters and two thirds (D.VIII.a, nos. 235-239), incorporate a reverse type which has a small pellet within the centre of the ankh.²² The reverse also includes sprays of three leaves in the four corners of the incuse. On the obverse, an ankh symbol is added in front of the ram.

The two extant sixths (D.VIII.b, no. 240) bear traces of a syllable in the right or left field of the reverse; the example with one to the left can be read as *sa*.²³

D.IX. Fractions (nos. 241-256)

The obverse type of the fractional issues is very similar to that of the first series of fractions within Group B, simply the head of a ram. Like their larger counterpart, however, these fractional pieces now incorporate a reverse type of the ankh.²⁴ These ankh reverse fractions are quite similar to the larger denominations of the group, save for the obvious need to pare down details on a smaller flan. While many of the ankh centres are blank (D.IX.a, nos. 241-251), many bear one of three different syllables: *ba*²⁵ (D.IX.b, nos. 252-256), *lo* (D.IX.c,

²¹ Six 1883, p. 271, no. 21; Babelon 1893, p. cxiv; *BMC*, p. lxxxviii, no. 27; Babelon *Traité*, 1, pp. 585-586, no. 939 bis.; *ICS*, p. 318, no. 319e.

²² Six 1883, p. 270, nos. 13, 21; McDonald, p. 563, no. 1; *BMC*, p. 51, no. 27; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 586, no. 939; Head 1911, p. 742, attributes this series to the successors of Evelthon, c. 520 - 460.

²³ Destrooper-Georgiades 1989, p. 204, no. 24.

²⁴ Six 1883, p. 275, no. 32; Babelon 1893, p. 85, no. 572; *BMC*, p. lxxxvi; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 584, no. 938, p. 592, no. 942 bis; Head 1911, p. 742, dates these "twelfths" to the time of Evelthon, c. 530-520.

²⁵ Six 1883, p. 275, no. 32; Babelon 1893, p. 85, no. 572; *BMC*, p. xciii, no. 3e; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 592, no. 942 bis.

no. 257), or *ku*²⁶ (D.IX.d, nos. 258-265). One example (no. 264) may incorporate the syllables *ta-se* within the reverse field.²⁷

There is one variant of this type combination of the fractional issues within this group. The divergence is rare, but it is worth noting because the die engraver seems deliberately to depict only the circle of the ankh on the reverse (nos. 262 and 265).²⁸

E. King Mo...

nos. 266-271

In this next group, the obverse type of the lying ram remains essentially the same; the only added detail is an occasional dotted border.²⁹ While the majority of the extant examples are too worn to read, the one discernible obverse inscription is on the stater, no. 271, E.III, and appears below the ram: *ne-to* .. These are presumably the final syllables of the nominative form of Evelthon (see enlarged photo, pl. XLI).

With the reverse there is a substantial shift in type. The ram's head is very different from that of the fractions issued under Evelthon. The heads are markedly more naturalistic, almost copying that of the reverse, but on a larger scale. They are rendered horizontally, as the truncation seems to come out of or

²⁶ BMC, p. lxxxviii; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 584, no. 938; Amandry 1992, p. 19, no. 1. Amandry described no. 259 as a rare archaic obol, as did Babelon (*Traité*, 1, no. 938) who was not aware of two examples: one in Copenhagen, weighing 0.82 g. (BMC pl. XXIII, 9 = SNG Cop., no. 34), the other in the collection of Philipsen, weighing 0.88 g. He further suggests that the Paris coin (no. 259) is the coin of the Philipsen collection as they are of the same weight and the collection was sold by J. Hirsch in 1909 (Sammlung G. Philipsen in Copenhagen, 29/XI/1909).

²⁷ Karageorghis 1970, p. 68, Appendix 1: Helly, p. 236, no. 1.

²⁸ Weber, no. 7719; Hill 1924, p. 14, no. 21.

²⁹ M. Voigt, *Leipz. Studien*, I, 1878, p. 291; Six, pp. 277-278, nos. 36-40 dates these coins to c. 440-430 and suggested that they are imitations of Evanthes struck by Abdymon; BMC, pp. xcv-xcvi, nos. 33-37. Hill recognised their 'primitive style' and noted that they must be earlier than the middle of the fifth century; he could only suggest that they are predecessors of coins of Evanthes by their type combination or possibly produced by an exiled prince.; Babelon *Traité*, 2, pp. 697-700, nos. 1130-1134; Head 1911, p. 743, dates this type to c. 480 - 450.

attach itself to the side of the incuse square. Symbols are added to the reverse field including a laurel branch, palmette and ankh (nos. 266, 270 and 271).

Only two coins bear a reverse inscription (E.II, no. 270), three syllables below the neck of the ram.³⁰ The reverse of these two specimens are not in bad condition, but few scholars have made an attempt to interpret the three syllables. Destrooper-Georgiades³¹ read them as *mo-ti-mo*, which is impossible for two reasons: first, the middle symbol has only one line descending from the top, and so is not a vertically pointing arrow as the symbol *ti*; second, it is clear that the first and last symbols are intended to be different, since while both consist of a circle, the first has a clear vertical line through the centre, the other has a horizontal line across the centre. Moreover, the first is clearly bordered at the top and bottom by two horizontal lines, while the third is not (see enlarged photo, no. 270, pl. XLI).

The first sign could be one of three syllables:

1) *ra*: this symbol is often drawn as a circle with a flat top with a horizontal line for a base;³²

2) *pu*: this symbol is similar to that of *ra* with the inclusion of a vertical central line, without, however, a line forming a flat top;³³

3) *mo*: this is most commonly written with a vertical line crossing the middle and is often depicted with flat edges on the top and bottom.³⁴ The possibility of this syllable being a *mo* is however quite slim as we have

³⁰ Lang, p. 13, no. 13; Six 1883, p. 277, no. 35; BMC, no. 34; Babelon *Traité*, 2, p. 698, no. 1131; Dikaios 1935, p. 173, no. 525; Dikaios 1961, p. 176, no. 8; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 155, no. 89.

³¹ Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 155. Masson (ICS) makes no attempt at a reading.

³² Consistent throughout the island, for example ICS nos. 152, 153, 217, 247, 295, 327, 371.

³³ ICS, no. 158, on an amphora from Marium where the vertical line is clearly transversing a circle with double horizontal base lines. Also on coins of Paphus, King Pny.. I (BMC no. 6). Lastly, a clear example on the Idalion Tablet, ICS no. 217, face B, line 1.

³⁴ See ICS, no. 17, line 2 from a tomb at Kouklia for closest comparison. See also ICS, nos. 205, 311, 337, 361, 371; O. Masson, 'Une inscription étochyprite probablement originaire d'Amonthonte', *Kadmos*, 1988, pp. 127-128.

established that the first and last syllables are deliberately different and, as we shall see below, the third syllable is almost certainly *mo*.

The middle syllable consists of a single vertical line with a second straight line descending from the top to the right at a forty-five degree angle. While there are no direct matches listed in *ICS* by Masson, there are similarities with at least two recognised syllables:

1) *no*: if this syllable is *no*, only one half of the symbol is used on our coin, since in all cases it is written as our symbol but either twice or two back-to-back.³⁵

2) *po*: this is unlikely as the adjunct line does not hook as it does on *po* syllables.³⁶

Despite the odd variation, the third symbol is likely to be a *mo*. As discussed above, in most cases, the *mo* is written with a vertical line crossing the circle; however, there are known examples in which a horizontal line crosses the circle.³⁷

With all the above interpretations of the syllables possible, a reading of the inscription on these coins is very difficult. One can posit suggestions however. The possibilities, with the inscription read retrograde, are as follows:

mo-no-pu: Monopu, Monop, Monpu

mo-no-ra: Monora, Monor, Monra

mo-pu-ra: Mopura, Mopur, Mopra

³⁵ *ICS*, nos. 351 and 392.

³⁶ *ICS*, no. 7, line 1 and no. 91, line 1, nos. 208 and 295.

³⁷ *ICS*, p. 67, fig. 5 and nos. 305 and 315 (from Salamis).

F. King Phausis

nos. 272-288

This group consists of those coins issued under a king presumably named Pausios or Phausis, a name hitherto unknown in the Salaminian dynasty. Until the recent discovery of some new examples, these coins were attributed to a number of different Salaminian kings.³⁸

Both the obverse and reverse types remain exactly the same as those of King Evelthon and/or his successors (D): recumbent ram obverse and ankh reverse. Both ground lines and dotted borders seem to appear randomly on the obverse. The reverse type with the ankh tends to remain very simple, save for the sometimes complicated patterns of inscriptions.

F.I. Evelthon / Phausis (no. 272)

On at least three examples (no. 272) the obverse inscription bears the same syllables as those issued under King Evelthon: *e-u-we-le-to...* Unfortunately the extant examples do not reveal the case of the inscription.

³⁸ Coins of Phausis have been wrongly attributed or listed under 'uncertain authority' by the following: de Luynes, pp. 3, 5, no. 10; Babelon 1893, nos. 570-572 assigned them to Gorgos; Hill, *BMC*, p. xc, no. 1, p. xci, p. 51, nos. 28-30 and Six 1883, p. 273, nos. 22-24 were unable to read the inscription; Babelon, *Traité*, 1, p. 290, nos. 940-942 also attributes them to Gorgos; Head 1911, p. 742, identifies a type with an uncertain obverse inscription and a reverse with *basileo* in corners and dates it to c. 480 - 450; Newell, *AJN* 1914, pp. 68-29 attributed a specimen to Chersis; Kraay 1962, p. 1; B. Helly, 'Témoignage sur l'atelier monétaire de Salamine de Chypre', *Archéonumis*, 12 (1974), p. 53, was able to read part of this inscription but attributed it to Chersis; *ICS*, p. 320, nos. 322; Brown & Catling, p. 57. See now Kagan & McGregor, pp. 3-10, where the inscription was completed for the first time.

F.II-V. Phausis or Basileos Phausis (nos. 273-288)

Two other obverse inscriptions, *pausiose* alone, or accompanied by *basile*, herald a break from the previous issues always inscribed with the name of Evelthon. Twelve of the known examples bear the name of the king only on the obverse (F.II),³⁹ while the others also include the title *basile* (F.III-V).⁴⁰ On one rare example (no. 285, F.III.b) there may even be two rows of inscription above the ram, although it is difficult to tell since the coin could be overstruck. All inscriptions are written retrograde. It is interesting to note that *wo* is occasionally substituted for *o* in the spelling of *basileo* and *pausiose*.

The reverse inscription is now ingeniously incorporated into the corners of the incuse square, one syllable in each corner surrounding the ankh. On those with the king's name only on the obverse (F.II), the reverse inscription is the title *basileos*. On those coins which incorporate both the title and name of the king on the obverse, the reverse inscription either repeats the name of the king (F.III) (or possibly repeats the title, F.IV, no. 286) or has blank corners (F.V).

ba is always at the centre of the ankh and some inscriptions incorporate the syllable and continue into the four corners of the incuse, while others repeat *ba* in the exterior. The ordering of the syllables tends to be random. The known systems for both obverse and reverse are as follows:

³⁹ Kagan & McGregor, first group: nos. 1-10.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, second group: nos. 11-15.

Obverse		Reverse	
above	below	centre	corners
<i>e-u-we</i>	<i>le-to-...</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba-u-si-o</i> (<i>ba</i> lower r. cc. ⁴¹)
<i>ba-u-si</i>	<i>o-se-...</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba-si-le-o</i> (<i>ba</i> upper r., cc.)
<i>ba-u-si</i>	<i>o-se-...</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>si-le-o-se</i> (<i>si</i> upper l., cc.)
<i>ba-u-si</i>	...	<i>ba</i>	<i>si-le-...-o</i> (<i>si</i> upper r., cc.)
<i>ba-u</i>	<i>si-o-se</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>si-le-...-...</i> (<i>si</i> upper r.)
<i>ba</i>	<i>u-si-...</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>si-le-o-se</i> (<i>si</i> upper r.)
<i>ba-si-le-o</i>	<i>ba-u-si-o</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba-u-...-...</i> (<i>ba</i> lower l., <i>u</i> upper r., cc.)
<i>ba-si-le-o</i>	...	?	<i>ba-u-si-o</i> (<i>ba</i> upper r., cc.)
<i>ba-si-le</i>	...	?	<i>...-...-le-...</i> (<i>le</i> lower r.)
<i>ba-si-le-wo</i>	<i>ba-u-si-wo</i>	<i>ba</i>	blank corners

Table 2.ii.1: Inscriptions on coins of King Pausis

Group F introduces a new legend and name.⁴² The variations and combinations of the legend seem to vary widely, leading one to believe that this was a large issue which lasted over a long period of time.

Two new symbols are also introduced. First there is the winged disc placed above the ram and the upper inscription (F.III); it is clearly linked to the Pausis issues, as it appears on at least three examples. Prior to the discovery of no. 284, the winged disc was unknown on the coins of Salamis and was thought

⁴¹ cc. = counter clockwise.

⁴² For analysis of the inscription, see O. Masson, 'Nouveaux rois chypriotes à Paphos et à Salamine', *BSFN*, 49 (May 1994), pp. 812-818.

to be an inverted crescent on at least one of the then extant examples (no. 285).⁴³ Second, appearing on a small number of specimens, is a grain of barley above the ram (F.V), which we shall see later incorporated on the coins of Evagoras I. A third symbol, the inverted crescent and disc symbol, used on the *ko-ru* issues, also appears on a few of the coins issued by Phausis (F.II.b and c).

G. and H. Uncertain Authorities

Two further specimens should be mentioned here as they are both likely to belong to this period.

G. Uncertain (no. 289)

As with the coins of King Phausis, the reverse type of no. 289 incorporates four syllables in the corners of the incuse square, but unfortunately only two of the syllables are legible. Although the full inscription is a mystery, the two upper syllables which can be read are a *u* and a *sa*, with a *ba* centre to the ankh. As this coin obviously bears a reverse inscription which does not belong to the other groups with this type combination, it is possible that this coin is from a separate issuing authority; but as it is in very poor condition, it is impossible to categorise it with any certainty.

H. Timile? (no. 290)

The second very rare specimen seems to incorporate a new obverse inscription also indicating a new or different issuing authority. It is placed here, after the coins of Phausis because of the strong similarity in style and fabric to the Phausis group. Like the coin of Group G, it is also placed in the general period of

⁴³ BMC, p. 51, no. 30.

the coins of Phausis on account of the incorporation of the *ba* syllable on the reverse in the centre of the ankh.

As this coin is unavailable for direct examination, the obverse inscription must be read from a very poor photograph. Despite this handicap, it is clear that the obverse inscription is neither Evelthon nor Phausis. Behind the head of the ram is clearly a *le* syllable, which may lead one to believe that this is part of the word *basile*; this seems not to be the case since the next two syllables are likely to be a *mi* and *ti*, thus spelling out: *timile* above the ram. Unfortunately, the lower half of the inscription is off the flan. The reverse ankh incorporates a *ba* syllable in the centre and one syllable to the lower left of the ankh, a single *te*.

Until further specimens within this group come to light with a clear inscription, the issuing authority must remain a mystery.

I. King Nikodamos

nos. 291-335

With only one exception the obverse and reverse types produced under the authority of King Nikodamos remain consistent with those produced by the successors of Evelthon – a recumbent ram obverse and ankh reverse. The dotted border is almost always incorporated, while the ground line tends to be a rarity. One must be careful with the comparison of symbols, however, as we are dealing with smaller denominations, mostly thirds, which allow less room on the flans.

The most important development from previous issues is in the obverse inscription, which remains fairly regular throughout; above the ram one reads: *ba-si-le* (retrograde), in front of the ram: *wo-se* (vertically written) and below the

ram, the name of the king: *ni-ko-ta-mo* (retrograde), thus reading: *Basilewose Nikotamo* = Βασιλῆϝος Νιχοδάμω.⁴⁴

I.I. Selamini (nos. 291-320)

On the majority of the extant examples (thirds, sixths and twelfths), this obverse inscription is combined with a reverse inscription, the name of the city itself: Selamini = Σελαμινι(ων),⁴⁵ in the four corners of the incuse square (see enlarged photo, no. 318, pl. XLII). Hill considered the possibility that the inscription was that of a man's name Μινίλασε (Μενελα)ς, but agreed that this was highly unlikely.⁴⁶ As Masson (*ICS*, p. 321) has clearly shown that this form of the ethnic was widely used, there is no doubt the inscription is that of the ethnic. The pattern of syllables, like those of Phausis, tends to vary, although the combination of syllables with *se* in the lower right corner and written counter-clockwise is the most common, though on a number of examples the legend can be read clockwise.

The centre of the ankh either has the syllable *ni*⁴⁷ (I.I.a, nos. 291-295), obviously an abbreviation for Nikodamos, or is blank (I.I.b, nos. 296-320); just one coin bears a *ba* in the centre of the ankh, but the syllable is rarely excluded, as it is often incorporated by the simple addition of a second horizontal cross bar to the lower half of the ankh.

⁴⁴ Six 1883, pp. 274-276, nos. 26-31, dates Nikodamos to 460-450; *BMC*, pp. xcii-cxiii, nos. 31 & 32; *Babelon Traité*, 1, pp. 591-596, nos. 943-949; *Babelon Traité*, 2, p. 697; Head 1911, p. 742, dates the Nikodamos issues to c. 480-450; *ICS*, p. 320, no. 323.

⁴⁵ M. Schmidt, *Die Inschrift von Idalion und das kyprische Syllabar. Eine epigraphische Studie*, 1874, p. 30; Deeke, pp. 59, 176-177 D; Six 1883, p. 276, nos. 26-29; *Babelon* 1893, p. 85, nos. 573-574; *BMC*, pp. xcii-cxiii, nos. 31-32; *Babelon Traité*, 1, pp. 592-594, nos. 944-947; *ICS*, no. 323a-c.

⁴⁶ *BMC*, p. xciv, Six 1883, p. 274, and *Babelon Traité*, 1, pp. 595-596 all suggested proper names.

⁴⁷ *ICS*, no. 323c.

I.II. kalarita (nos. 321-324)

Two other reverse inscriptions remain a mystery. The first is likely to begin in the lower right corner and moves counter-clockwise (as with most of the coins in this series) reading *ka-la-ri-ta*.⁴⁸ As the syllable *ba* is used as centre we may assume that it retains its previous meaning as an abbreviation for Basileos. One must then wonder if this word is indeed a proper name as it is clearly not that of the King. The various possible transliterations are as follows:

<u>counter clockwise:</u>	<u>starting:</u>	<u>clockwise:</u>
<i>ka-la-ri-ta</i>	(lower right)	<i>ka-ta-ri-la</i>
<i>la-ri-ta-ka</i>	(upper right)	<i>la-ka-ta-ri</i>
<i>ri-ta-ka-la</i>	(upper left)	<i>ri-la-ka-ta</i>
<i>ta-ka-la-ri</i>	(lower left)	<i>ta-ri-la-ka</i>

Table 2.ii.2: Possible transliterations of Nikodamos, *ka-la-ri-ta* Series

Hill and Masson rejected interpretations by Deecke and Hoffmann who suggested Καλαριτα as Κλαριτᾶ(ν), an ethnic standing for the Cypriote river Κλυριος.⁴⁹ Six, Hill, and Babelon proposed the name Λᾱχάριδας; a possible brother or co-regent of Nikodamos.⁵⁰ No proposed interpretation seems conclusive however.

⁴⁸ Six 1883, p. 275, no. 30; *BMC*, p. xciii; *Babelon Traité*, 1, p. 596, nos. 948-949; Hill 1929, p. 190, no. 15; *ICS* no. 323d.

⁴⁹ Deeke, p. 60, no. 178; O. Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte I*, 1891, p. 97, no. 226; BMC, p. xcv; ICS, p. 321.

⁵⁰ Six 1883, p. 276; *BMC*, p. xcv; Babelon *Traité*, 1, pp. 595-596.

I.III. selasi... (no. 325)

The second mystery, on one lone third, consists of a *ba* in the centre of the ankh, and utilises the letters *si*, *la* and *se* in three of the four corners of the incuse (the fourth is obliterated). Could this inscription be yet one more variation of the title *basileos*: *ba-si-la-o-se*? Alternatively, if one reads the inscription from the lower right corner and moves counter-clockwise (as with earlier groups), one can read *Selasi*... Unfortunately the obverse inscription on this coin is illegible.

I.IV. Evelthon / Nikotamo (no. 326)

The only diversion from the standard obverse legend in Group I is perhaps not so unexpected, as one stater bears the name of Evelthon inscribed in the genitive case,⁵¹ the name of King Nikodamos is combined with that of Evelthon by being moved to the reverse in the corners of the incuse with a *ba* centre. One will recall that Phausis also used the name of Evelthon on the obverse in conjunction with his own name on the reverse.

I.V. Blank Corners (nos. 327-334)

Among the coins issued by Nikodamos, there is a series that is only represented by a stater, a third and a sixth where there is no full reverse inscription. The reverse of the stater only displays a *ni* in the centre of the ankh and incorporates traditional florals in the four corners of the incuse, while the obverse bears an abbreviated form of the legend *ba-si ni* above the ram and *ko-ta-mo* below.

I.VI. Ram's Head Reverse (no. 335)

One final stater is remarkable in its combination of added features and reverse type. The obverse inscription, as with the majority of the thirds, has *Basilewo Nikotamo* spelled in full. Unlike the previous Nikodamos obverse types,

⁵¹ Troxell & Spengler, p. 6, no. 17.

however, the *wo* syllable remains above the ram and the *se* moves down below, in front of the spelling of the name Nikodamos. There is also a pitcher added above the ram and upper inscription. The reverse exhibits the only deviation from the previous type combinations, as a ram's head facing left replaces the ankh symbol. A grain of barley, as seen on the coins of King Phausis, is also added above the head and an ivy branch below. The fabric itself is also quite advanced with its clean field, refined craftsmanship, and incuse circle. This reverse type will be repeated by Nikodamos' successor, King Evanthes.

The types of the fractional series continue the pattern seen so far throughout the century – an abbreviated version of the larger denominations. With Nikodamos, the fractional issues bear a ram's head obverse and an ankh reverse.

The ankh reverse fractions closely follow the larger denominations, with the *Selamini*⁵² series (I.I.c, nos. 316-320) being quite common, but the *kalarita*⁵³ series (I.II.b, no. 324) is also represented. Although the third series of fractions is uninscribed (I.V.b, nos. 330-334), there is no doubt that these issues belong to Nikodamos as they are close in fabric and style to the larger denominations.⁵⁴

I. King Evanthes

nos. 336-357

The types of King Evanthes, represented by staters and sixths only, are generally the same as those seen under King Mo... (see E above), and one example issued by Nikodamos (I.VI), with the ever present recumbent ram on

⁵² Babelon 1893, p. 85, no. 575; *BMC*, p. xciii, no. 2d; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 594, no. 947 bis; Head 1911, p. 742, c. 480-450.

⁵³ Babelon 1893, no. 575; Six 1883, p. 275, no. 29; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 596, no. 948; Hill 1924, p. 13, no. 19: 'of Lacharidas'.

⁵⁴ Six 1883, p. 275, no. 31; *BMC*, p. xciii, no. 3d; Babelon *Traité*, 1, p. 592, no. 942 ter.

the obverse and a large ram's head on the reverse.⁵⁵ As with the Nikodamos specimen, there is now a distinct difference in the reverse type, where the style has changed markedly to a much more refined, more stylised, classical head, thinner than the Mo... examples. The fractional issues are abbreviations of the larger types, with ram's heads on both obverse and reverse.⁵⁶

J.I - II. Euwateteose obverse (nos. 336-339)

While the types remain essentially the same throughout, the recumbent ram, incorporating a ground line and dotted border on the obverse and ram's head on the reverse, the inscriptions exhibit vast variety. The staters, along with a few sixths, bear the name of the King in full on the obverse: *E-u-wa-te-te-o-se* = Εὐφά(ν)θε(ος),⁵⁷ the reverse inscriptions vary widely. At least three of the staters carry the inscription: *si-ba* (retrograde = Βασι(λῆ)fos)) along with the inclusion of the syllable *lo* with room for another obliterated syllable (J.I, nos. 36-337). Moreover, the small vertical line to the right of the head seems to be used deliberately as part of the inscription.⁵⁸ One example in the first series (no. 337), also incorporates the name of the king on the reverse type starting above the head and moving counter-clockwise around the flan. A second series of staters (J.II, 338-339) bear a more simple reverse inscription with a singular *ba* syllable below the head of the ram.

⁵⁵ Six 1883, p. 277-278, dates the issue to 440-430; *BMC*, p. xcvi; *Babelon Traité*, 2, pp. 699-702, nos. 1135-1141; Head 1911, p. 743, correctly attributes the Evanthes series, dating them c. 450. Head further suggests that they were perhaps minted elsewhere as the city was occupied by a Phoenician usurper before Abdemon; *ICS*, no. 324.

⁵⁶ *BMC*, p. xcvi; *Babelon Traité*, 2, pp. 702, nos. 1140-1141.

⁵⁷ M. Voigt, *Leipz. Studien*, I, 1878, p. 291; Six 1883, p. 277; *BMC*, pp. xcvi-xcvi; *Babelon Traité*, 2, col. 699-702; *ICS*, no. 324a.

⁵⁸ Six 1883, p. 278, no. 37; *Babelon* 1893, p. 85, no. 576; *BMC*, p. xcvi; *Babelon Traité*, 2, p. 700, no. 1135; *ICS*, 324a. Masson does not comment on the + and – symbols.

J.III. Euwateteose / Basilewose (nos. 340-342)

On the sixths (J.III.a, no. 340), the reverse incorporates the inscription *ba-si-le-wo* (= Βασιλῆϝος)⁵⁹ and an ivy branch which is an added symbol on many of the Evanthes issues. The *basilewo* reverse inscription is also seen on two smaller fractions (J.III.b, nos. 341-342).

J.IV. ku or e / Basilewose (nos. 343-346)

Another series of sixths (J.IV.a, nos. 343-344), with the reverse inscription *basilewose* and ivy branch, bears a more abbreviated obverse inscription, either *e* or *ku* (it is very difficult to differentiate on the extant examples) above the ram, while the corresponding fractions (J.IV.b, nos. 345-346) incorporate both *basile* and *ku* or *e* on the reverse.⁶⁰

J.V. ba ku / ba ku (or e) (nos. 347-349)

The syllable combination of *ba ku* is clearly seen (see enlarged photo of no. 347, pl. XLII) on obverse types of sixths along with the singular *ku* or *e* with ivy branch on the reverse (J.V.a, nos. 347-348). The *ku ba* is then repeated on the reverse of at least one fraction (J.V.b, no. 349).⁶¹

J.VI. Basi Eru (no. 350)

One rare fraction retains the same types as the previously discussed fractional series (J.V.b), ram's head left obverse and ram's head left reverse, but

⁵⁹ de Luynes 1852, p. 4; Six 1883, p. 278, no. 38; BMC, p. xcvi; Babelon *Traité*, 2, p. 702, no. 1138; most likely this is the inscription to which Masson refers, ICS, p. 322, no. 324c; Amandry 1992, p. 19, no. 2, pl. 2. Amandry dates Evanthes c. 450 and describes the coin as a diobol or hecte. Two examples were known to Babelon: Berlin weighing 1.60 g. and another in the collection of Weber (no. 340) weighing 1.76 g.- illustrated in *Traité*, 2, pl. CXXVII, fig. 10 and in BMC pl. XXIV, 2.

⁶⁰ Six 1883, p. 278, no. 40; BMC, p. xcvi, and no. 40. Hill read the obverse inscription as *ba ku*; Babelon *Traité*, 2, p. 700, nos. 1137, 1141.

⁶¹ Six 1883, p. 278, no. 39; BMC, no. 41; Babelon *Traité*, 2, p. 702, no. 1139.

incorporates a possible variant in the spelling of the reverse inscription: *ba-si e-ru*.
An ankh symbol is also added to the reverse field.

J.VII. Uninscribed (nos. 351-357)

The last series of fractions is uninscribed and exhibits various combinations of the ram's heads facing to the right or left (see enlarged photo, no. 356, pl. XLII).⁶²

⁶² Babelon *Traité*, 2, p. 702, no. 1140.

Iconography

The two main types which appear on the coins of Salamis during the fifth century are the ram and the ankh symbol. As with many of the added symbols discussed in this section, these two types could derive from a number of different cultural origins. As discussed in the Introduction, sixth century Cyprus was under the influence of a diverse number of religious and artistic persuasions; many of the types and motifs could find their origins in Assyria, Egypt, Phoenicia or indeed could be part of the island's indigenous tradition.

One must be cautious in any discussion regarding iconography. Conjecture relating to a precise inherent meaning of a particular symbol or motif by placing any deep religious significance to it, is dangerous. Simple motifs can hold powerful religious sentiments; however, just as easily, they may be convenient decorative designs which fit well within the awkward space provided by the type within the incuse or circular frame. I will rarely make firm assumptions as to meaning, preferring to debate a number of different possibilities.

The obscure nature of the material is well illustrated by Given in his 1991 dissertation on archaic and classical Cypriot symbolism, where he summarised his section on sun and moon symbols as follows (p. 86):

'We seem to be sinking into a confusing and disorientating mass of swirling, shifting symbols, drowning in an unstoppable flood of associations and transformations where meanings slide from one object to the next and interpretations go spinning off in all directions, where everything is everything else and nothing is itself. If these are systems of meaning, then nothing could be less systematic.'

Although one may hesitate to explain individual symbols, a pattern does emerge in the iconographic repertoire of the later archaic/early classical coinage of Salamis: life, rebirth and power.

In 1974 Vermeule proposed a down-dating of the so-called 'Egyptian style' in Cypriot sculpture, arguing that the height of Egyptian influence dated to the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth, rather than Gjerstad's mid-sixth century dating, intended to coincide with Egyptian suzerainty.⁶³ Markoe took Vermeule's conclusions one step further. Accepting the later dating of the Cypriot-Egyptian style, he came to the conclusion that actual Egyptian influence was not transmitted directly from Egypt itself, but rather through Phoenicia.⁶⁴

Certainly during the late sixth and early fifth centuries there is compelling evidence for increased Phoenician presence and influence throughout the island.⁶⁵ Many of these eastern symbols that were once thought to be direct Egyptian iconography can now be traced via Phoenicia; this includes many of the motifs listed below, possibly the most prominent of which is the winged disc.

The Ram

The ram as a numismatic type is not unique to Salamis. On Cyprus itself the ram was used on fifth century coins of Marium. At Marium, however, the comparison is not direct as the ram is being ridden by Phrixos (pl. XLV, A).⁶⁶ Although there is no direct connection between the myth of Phrixos, Helle and the ram to Cyprus, scholars have suggested that the representation of Phrixos

⁶³ Vermeule *AJA*, 1974, pp. 289-290.

⁶⁴ Markoe, pp. 116 ff.

⁶⁵ See Chapter One, p. 35 ff.

⁶⁶ *BMC*, Marium 1 and pl. xx, no. 4 and L. Lacroix, 'Deux traversées miraculeuses sur les monnaies de Marion en Chypre', *Etudes d'archéologie numismatique*, 1974, pl. VII 1-3.

riding the ram on the coins of Marium was a deliberate attempt on the part of the city to connect itself to this ancient Greek myth.⁶⁷

The ram is also used at mints elsewhere in the Greek world, most notably at Delphi (pl. XLV, B and C).⁶⁸ There are a number of connections between Salamis and Delphi,⁶⁹ most notably the consecration by Evelthon himself attested by Herodotus (4.162). The possibility that the ram was used on the two coinages for similar reasons is an interesting question, especially as the traditional interpretation of the rams on the coins of Delphi as rhyton has been challenged.⁷⁰

Although one is hard pressed to find comparisons of the ram as a numismatic type, it is certainly attested sculpturally throughout Cyprus in the archaic and classical periods. Most of the rams known to us from this period are in the form of rams heads rhyton, for example the beautiful archaic specimen found in Tomb 86 at Enkomi at Salamis itself.⁷¹ Remarkably, however, recent excavations at Ayia Varvara Almyras, a copper production site in central Cyprus, just south of Nicosia, have uncovered a limestone ram dating to the Cypro-Archaic II period.⁷² Although the sculpture seems to be a rather crude representation, there is no doubt that the animal is either kneeling or recumbent, quite similar to the representation on our coins.

⁶⁷ L. Lacroix, *ibid.*, pp. 61-63. There is a possibility that one of the sons of Phrixos was named Mariondynos - thus an alleged Greek founder of the city. The ram's head is also used as an adjunct symbol on the coins of Baalmelek I of Citium (*BMC*, p. xxxi).

⁶⁸ *ACGC*, p. 121.

⁶⁹ J. Pouilloux, 'Chypriotes à Delphes', *RDAC*, 1976, pp. 158-167.

⁷⁰ J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 1968, p. 152 rightly points out that the ram heads represented on the coins of Delphi are not representations of rhyta argued by Hoffmann, *Antike Kunst iv*, 1961, p. 26, pl. 12.3 and Kraay, *ACGC*, p. 121.

The ram's head is also seen at at least two eastern Greek mints. At Phocaea and Lesbos, electrum sixths depict the ram's head in a similar fashion as our fractional series. This is where the comparison ends, however, as not only is the ram's head just one in a series of many animals depicted on the coins of these mint, but both series date to the fifth century, thus eliminating any possibility of an influence on the choice of type at Salamis. The ram's head as a type is also seen in at least one Carian mint in late fifth century.

⁷¹ Murray, Smith & Walters, p. 33, no. 1212.

⁷² E. Herscher, 'Archaeology in Cyprus', *AJA* 102 (1998), p. 336, fig. 24.

The advanced craftsmanship of Cypriot glyptic was renowned in the late archaic and early classical periods, and the ram is represented on archaic and classical gems, many of which are likely to have derived from Cypriot workshops. The influence of 'Ionian' or East Greek styles and iconography is very apparent in a number of 'Fine Style' seals representing full rams and ram's heads.⁷³ Comparisons between the fine detailed rams' heads on seals and the sometimes very detailed and intricate workmanship of the Salaminian die engraver cannot be ignored. One may begin to wonder what connections there may have been between the glyptic craftsman and the die engraver in the later part of the archaic period.⁷⁴

Hill suggested two explanations for the main type of the ram: 1) a representation of the local sheep-breeding industry or 2) a symbol of the worship of Aphrodite.

I feel that the most convincing explanation is that the ram was a sign of the local sheep-breeding industry which is attested to in ancient literature.⁷⁵ Theories regarding the divine in Bronze Age Cyprus have certainly touched on such 'industrial' meanings. Knapp has suggested that the worship of 'ingot gods' are anthropomorphic and reflect directly on the society's livelihood or economy.⁷⁶ Evidence shows that it was not only the copper industry that

⁷³ J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 1968, p. 150-151, 17; For trade connections between Ionia and Salamis in the archaic period, see Y. Calvet and M. Yon, 'Salamine de Chypre et le commerce ionien', *Les Ceramiques de la Grèce de l'est et leur Diffusion en Occident*, 1978; See also, J. Boardman, 'The Cypriot Contribution to the Archaic Greek Glyptic', in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age*, 1989, pp. 44-47.

⁷⁴ J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 1968, p. 152 - makes a similar comparison between a 'Fine Style' ram seal and the so called ram's head 'rhyton' on the coins of Delphi.

⁷⁵ Servius, Verg. Bucol. VIII, 37; BMC, p. lxxv, note 1.

⁷⁶ A.B. Knapp, 'Copper Production and Divine Protection: Archaeology, Ideology and Social Complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus', *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, 1986; See also A.B. Knapp, 'Production, exchange and socio-political complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5 (1986), pp. 35-60 and A.B. Knapp, 'The Bronze Age economy of Cyprus: ritual, ideology and the sacred landscape, in V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (eds.), *The Development of the Cypriot Economy*, 1996, pp. 71 and 92.

spawned a rural cult in Bronze Age or Archaic Cyprus, as archaeological finds have revealed that as early as the Late Bronze Age, the ram is also worshipped as a cult figure.⁷⁷ There is also strong evidence for other sanctuaries associated with agricultural/animal husbandry at both Tamassos and Citium.⁷⁸

This element is further strengthened by evidence at Salamis itself for the worship of Hermes in his role as protector of the flocks, Hermes Nomios. Representations of Hermes as a pastoral deity with a ram at his side are common in east Greece where ram-cults are known to have flourished.⁷⁹

Further evidence for the international reputation of the Cypriot textile industry is found in the alleged existence of two famous sixth century textile manufacturers from Salamis itself, Akesas and his son Helikon. An inscription accompanying a dedication in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi reads:

"Now the weaving of many-coloured textures reached its height when the Cyprians Acesas and Helikon became the chief artists in the profession; they were celebrated weavers. In Delphi, at any rate, there is an inscription upon a certain work of art which reads: "Made by Helikon of Salamis, son of Acesas, upon whose handiwork the queenly Pallas breathed ineffable charm" (Ath. II, 48b).

This indirect sixth century evidence of the very prosperous local textile industry strengthens the argument of the iconography representing local industry.

There is evidence elsewhere in the Greek world for the representation on coins of local raw material as a statement of local prosperity. Examples include Metapontum with a barley-ear as its main type,⁸⁰ and in Cyrenaica, where the

⁷⁷ Vermeule, pp. 151 ff.; E. Erdmann, *Ausgrabungen in alt-paphos auf cypern*, 1977, pp. 70-71.

⁷⁸ Given, p. 51 and 167.

⁷⁹ C.C. Vermeule, 'Hermes, Protector of Shepherds at Salamis and at Kourion', *Archaeologia Cypria*, 2 (1990), pp. 105-108; J. Chittenden, 'The master of animals', *Hesperia* 16 (1947), pp. 89-114.

⁸⁰ ACGC, p. 165.

silphium plant is used, representing one of the region's most important resources.⁸¹

However, Hill preferred the suggestion that the ram was a symbol of the worship of Aphrodite.⁸² Aphrodite is without doubt the most important cult figure of Cyprus.⁸³ She is particularly prominent in fourth century Cypriot numismatic iconography and her sanctuaries were present throughout the island from the seventh to the fourth centuries, whether under the name of Ashtarte or Aphrodite.⁸⁴ There are also examples of a ram's head being used as architectural decoration on temples during the archaic period on mainland Greece.⁸⁵

With the ankh emerging as the reverse type and other Egyptian-Phoenician symbols (e.g. winged disc) appearing on this coinage, not to mention in Cypriot art in general during the late sixth century, it would be very difficult to overlook the possibility of the ram having an eastern origin. Certainly the ram is well attested in Egyptian culture, most notably in the avenue leading to the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak built in the time of Ramesses II, which consists of recumbent krio-Sphinxes.

The Ankh Symbol

The Ankh is the Egyptian symbol of life.⁸⁶ It was often used on monuments and temples in association with the Pharaoh or the gods, often as a symbol of resurrection and immortality.⁸⁷ It was also connected with the

⁸¹ ACGC, p. 296.

⁸² Hill 1940, p. lxxxv, note 1.

⁸³ Vermeule, p. 152.

⁸⁴ Given, p. 51. For worship at Salamis: Ovid, *Metam.*, 14.760 - temple of Aphrodite at Salamis.

⁸⁵ W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 3rd ed., 1950, pp. 90 and 113.

⁸⁶ Baldwin, pp. 89-194.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

goddess Isis, particularly when depicted with arms in the lower section. The ankh was commonly used in conjunction with the other two symbols relevant here: the ram and the winged disc. At the temple of Luxor in Egypt the ankh is coupled with the ram, representing the spirit Kneph.⁸⁸ During the Empire period or New Kingdom (1552-1069 B.C.) in Egypt, the ankh is often seen used in conjunction with the solar disc.⁸⁹

It is doubtful, however, that this symbol was borrowed directly from Egypt. It is well documented in Phoenician iconography as the symbol of 'Anat, the Phoenician parallel to the goddess Athena. Examples of the 'Anat symbol can be found all over the Phoenician coast, most often in the local form with a triangular base rather than a cross.⁹⁰ Certainly the worship of 'Anat/Athena' is attested on Cyprus at Idalium, where there is a sanctuary of 'Anat/Athena' which is said to include a number of military dedications.⁹¹ It has also been suggested that the sign may represent Aphrodite.⁹²

Like the winged disc discussed below, the ankh is often perceived not only as the sign of life, but taken one step further, of the human libido, birth and rebirth, as well.⁹³ I believe that these are the aspects which Hill had in mind when he suggested that the Greeks adopted the ankh in its more secular interpretation. It was seen as a symbol of power and sovereignty.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ S. Sharpe, *Egyptian Mythology*, 1863, fig. 28.

⁸⁹ Baldwin, p. 172.

⁹⁰ D. Harden, *The Phoenicians*, 1962, p. 88, figs. 24 and 25.

⁹¹ Given, p. 50; SCE IV, p. 628.

⁹² For discussion of the ankh symbol and its connections to the cult of Aphrodite see J. Rudhardt, 'Quelques notes sur les cultes chypriotes, en particulier sur celui d'Aphrodite', in *Chypre des origines au Moyen-Age*, 1975, pp. 109 ff.

⁹³ Given, pp. 192-193.

⁹⁴ Hill 1940, p. lxxxix, note 3; See also D.W. Rupp, 'The 'Royal Tombs' of Salamis (Cyprus): ideological messages of power and authority', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* I, 1988, pp. 111-139.

The ankh can be found on a number of other issues from Cypriot mints, for example at Marium on bronze coinage of the fourth century (*BMC* 6). Earlier, and perhaps more relevant, it is used as a reverse type by at least one of the 'uncertain' mints dating to the end of the sixth century, for example on the early issues of staters with a lion obverse (*BMC Uncertain* B 2 and C 1).

The symbol as a numismatic type is not unique to Cyprus, however, as it is found on coins of Cilicia and Phoenicia as well, but, these examples date much later than those discussed here and thus have no relevance regarding origins.

The Winged Disc

The winged disc also has its origins in Egypt, dating back to the Fourth Dynasty, and like the ankh, was adopted by the western Semitic civilisations as early as the 18th century.⁹⁵ Like many of the Egyptianizing symbols used in archaic Cyprus, the winged disc can be traced from its Egyptian origins to Assyria, Phoenicia and Persia.⁹⁶ It functioned similarly in Cyprus and Egypt: as a monumental motif it is often placed above entrances to temples as a sacred protective device.⁹⁷ For instance, at the palace at Vouni, there is strong evidence for a massive winged disc symbol above the doorway of the main facade.⁹⁸ In their miniature form, they are often depicted on scarabs, incorporated within the royal seal.⁹⁹ Significantly, the winged disc was a royal symbol associated with the king.¹⁰⁰ The symbol's royal authority is nowhere more evident than on a

⁹⁵ Parayre, p. 270.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 269 ff.

⁹⁷ Baldwin, p. 186.

⁹⁸ Given, p. 173; Other examples can be found at Golgoi - stele ICS no. 260 and Salamis - Karageorghis 1973, p. 294.

⁹⁹ Parayre, pp. 270-271; See also J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 1968, no. 22.

¹⁰⁰ Given, p. 80.

grand throne from Paphos where it has been utilised as an imposing ornament no doubt transmitting a message of royal power.¹⁰¹

The disc itself is thought to represent the image of the sun, thus a source of life itself,¹⁰² hence, adding to the significance of rebirth. The wings are a schematic representation of the falcon.

The symbol's identification as a protective device is further supported by its appearance in a military context, as it is carved on the forehead area of a bronze helmet from Liomylia.¹⁰³ Perhaps more significantly, it appears on a sculpted amulet in the sanctuary dedicated to a deity of war and power at Fragissa.¹⁰⁴

As with the ankh symbol, the winged disc is not unique to the coinage of Salamis. It is common on an early (sixth century?) series of coins attributed to Paphos, as with our ram, in the field just above a standing bull. The symbol is also known on coins from Tarsus, Mallus and Issus in Cilicia.

A very interesting winged disc has appeared on a coin found in the recent Adana Hoard. This coin, probably minted at Paphos, incorporates a complex syllabic inscription *basi pilo*, thus issued by a King Philo..., while there is another coin in Berlin, supposedly with winged disc and inscription *basi pio*.¹⁰⁵

The winged disc represented on the coins of Salamis (no. 284) can be closely linked stylistically with those categorised by Parayre as the type

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81; See also F.G. Maier, 'Priest Kings in Cyprus', in E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, 1989, pp. 376-931, for the importance of the combined political and religious powers of the king at Paphos.

¹⁰² Baldwin, p. 193.

¹⁰³ Given, pp. 80-81; V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1969', *BCH* 94 (1970), pp. 222-226, fig. 73 a-b, Kouklia, tomb 32, limestone.

¹⁰⁴ Given, p. 153, table 50.

¹⁰⁵ A. Destrooper-Georgiades, 'The Cypriot coin with solar disc of the Adana hoard', *NRC*, 1984-1990, pp. 295-296, wrongly doubts the attribution to Paphos; O. Masson, 'Notes de numismatique chypriote III-V', *RN* 1982, pp. 12-14; See also Kagan 1994, p. 35. For a discussion of winged discs on a Cypriot series, obverse type a lion attacking a cow, see A. Destrooper-Georgiades, 'Disque ailé inclus dans un motif geometrique sur une serie de monnaies chypriotes?', *CEC* 20 (1998-2).

produced during the Achaemenid period in Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus.¹⁰⁶ Our representation of the winged disc has obviously developed greatly from the very stylised and rigid Old Kingdom Egyptian interpretation.

Crescent and Disc

Like the winged disc symbol, the crescent and disc is undoubtedly solar, representing the sun and the moon or indeed two phases of the moon.¹⁰⁷ This symbol was used in Cyprus on the lintels of tombs and funerary stelai.¹⁰⁸ There are a number of examples of volute stelai, including those found at Salamis dating to the late sixth - early fifth century, which incorporate the crescent and disc symbol between the volutes within the upper triangle. The symbol is often surrounded by vegetation motifs such as the lotus flower. No doubt these symbols are related, as Given has pointed out: 'The crescent and disc symbol, as well as carrying its own solar and lunar associations, condenses the force of the vegetation symbolism which itself is a condensation of the pattern of human life, death, and rebirth.'¹⁰⁹

The majority of examples of the use of the winged disc in Cyprus have surfaced at Amathus, Golgoi, Idalium, and indeed Salamis.¹¹⁰ Again, like the

¹⁰⁶ Parayre, pp. 277-278, with naturalistic features.

¹⁰⁷ Given, p. 72.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 45 and 74; Rantidi-Paphos: ornamental stele, see T.B. Mitford & O. Masson, *The Syllabic Inscriptions of Rantidi-Paphos*, 1983, p. 92, no. R102, pl. 24; Golgoi: ICS, p. 402, no. 303a and V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1966', *BCH* 91 (1967), p. 283, fig. 19; 95 (1971), p. 309, fig. 2; 100 (1976), p. 870, fig. 59; Citium: Reyes, no. 50, G. Clerc, *et. al.*, *Fouilles de Kition*, II, 1976, p. 165, no. 1686; See also G.R.H. Wright, *Ancient Building in Cyprus*, 1992, pp. 477-478.

¹⁰⁹ Examples can be found in lists compiled by Given, p. 75. Appendix 1: breastplates with crescents: Karageorghis 1967, p. 35, no. 22, p. 38, no. 111. Side pendants: *ibid.*, p. 35-6, no. 23, p. 38, no. 114. Breastplates with embossed crescents: Karageorghis 1973, p. 25, nos. 196 and 275, p. 25, nos. 199 and 276, p. 39, nos. 320/17 and 277 p. 40, nos. 320/23. Breastplate *ibid.*, p. 36, no. 248, pl. 76. Side pendant (Chariot A). *ibid.*, p. 36, nos. 247, pls. 76, 276. Two side pendants (Chariot D), one facing up, one down. *ibid.*, pp. 39-49, nos. 320/18, 320/24, pls. 128, 275. T84. Down-facing crescent on facade above stomion - Karageorghis 1970, p. 126, fig. 71, p. 161/5.

¹¹⁰ Given, p. 73.

winged disc symbol, the crescent and disc motif could be interpreted as a protective device as it is found on the forehead unit on a number of eye-blinkers for horses drawing war chariots.¹¹¹ The moon and crescent disc symbol, like many of the symbolic representations discussed above is also repeated in the local glyptic tradition.¹¹²

Vegetation motifs

Vegetation motifs – wreaths, volutes, palmette designs, leaves and fruit, can be seen in sanctuaries throughout the island. Like their iconographical counterparts discussed above, many of which one can find in conjunction with vegetation motifs, these designs have origins in the east and Egypt and are similarly often used in a funerary context.¹¹³ Nowhere is the vegetation motif in association with death (and indeed rebirth) more evident than at the 'Royal Tombs' at Salamis.¹¹⁴

The lotus flower and papyrus plant are perfect examples of Egyptian motifs which were direct symbols of the rising of the sun and growth.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78; at Paphus see V. Karageroghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1962', *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 272, fig. 9; p. 289, fig. 33.

¹¹² J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 1968, no. 384.

¹¹³ Given, pp. 60-62.

¹¹⁴ Karageorghis 1967 and 1973, Tomb no. 79. Symbolism: vegetation; crescent and discs: breastplates, chariots; winged discs: chariots, bronze cauldron; deities: Chariot B front bands - 'Ashtart; Chariot B side pendants: Hathor; Bed - Bes, Heh; Bronze cauldron - Hathor.

¹¹⁵ B.B. Shefton, 'The Paradise Flower, a 'Court Style' Phoenician Ornament: its history in Cyprus and the Central and Western Mediterranean', in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age*, 1989, pp. 97-102.

2.iii. Die and Fabric Study

A. Uninscribed

(nos. 1-21)

Amongst the 21 staters catalogued in this group, there are no discernible obverse or reverse die duplicates. This conclusion is quite inconsequential, however, as the extant coins are in very poor condition making the task of finding die duplicates almost impossible. It should be noted that not only are these specimens quite worn, but most, having been found in hoards of Asia Minor and Egypt, have one or sometimes two chisel cuts.

The flans of these specimen are quite small, thick and dumpy.

B. King Evelthon

B.I. Nominative / Smooth Staters (nos. 22-102)

This group is well represented, with 112 staters available for study, 22 thirds and 31 sixths (smaller fractions will be discussed below). The general fabric of these coins is quite dumpy; the staters are only slightly larger than the preceding group (A) with an average diameter of 19 mm., the thirds measure 14 mm. and the sixths 11 mm.

Known die links are shown in the following table and permit some relative ordering of dies through the wear exhibited by the dies; but scarcity of die links and the smoothness of the reverse of these issues severely limit the results.¹¹⁶

For the 112 staters available for the die study, 58 obverse dies were used.

¹¹⁶ As the various series within Group B have the same obverse type, all obverse dies were compared.

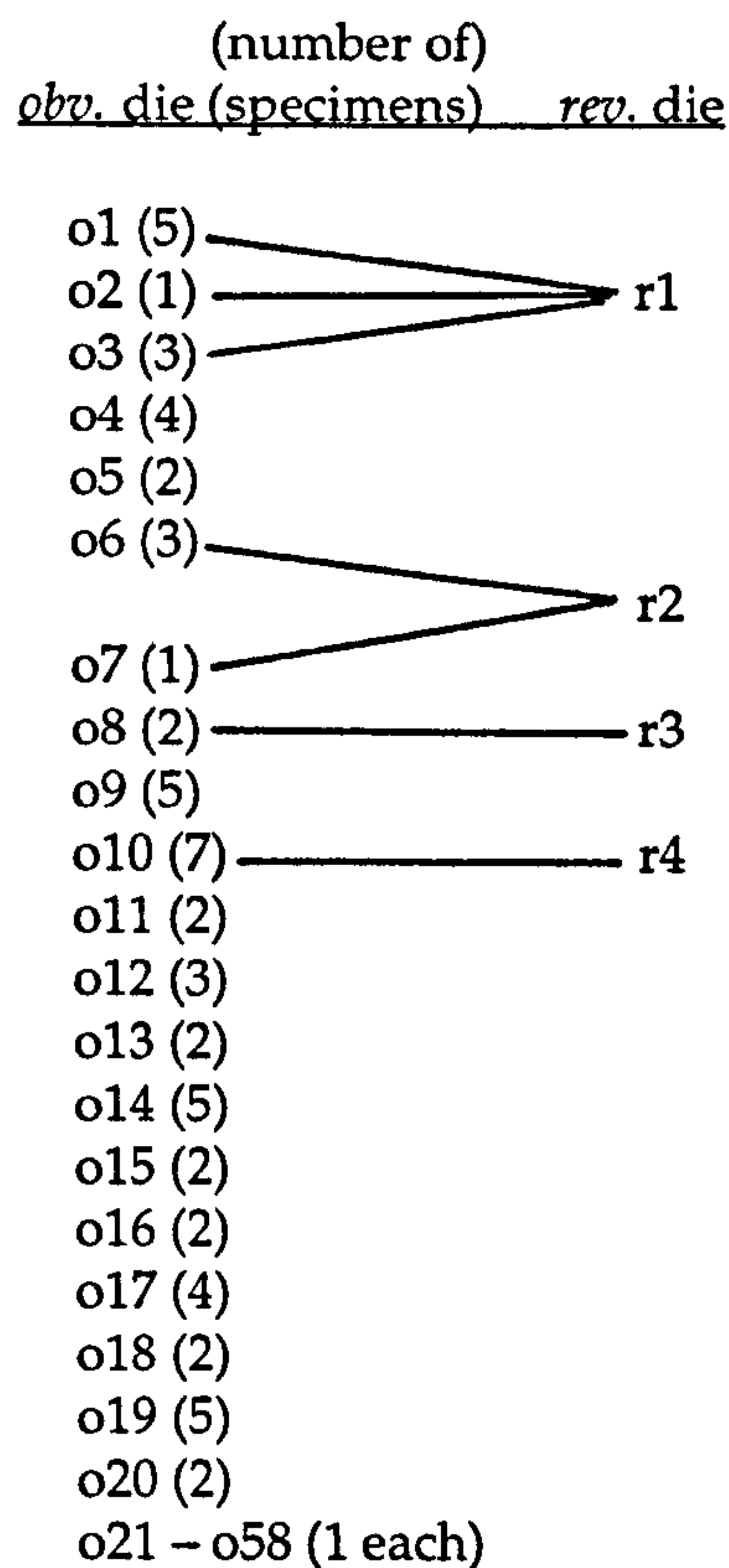


Table 2.iii.1. Die Sequence of Series B.I Staters

This die chart again is somewhat misleading as although some reverse dies can be matched due to a flaw in the smooth reverse 'die', most cannot. It is quite possible that there are many fewer reverse 'dies' used than the chart might suggest.

Those reverse dies which can be connected show links between obverse dies 1, 2 and 3. As dies o1 and o2 are represented in the Larnaca Hoard, die o3 must be considered contemporary to that. Similarly, as die o6 is represented in Larnaca, die o7 should be contemporary.

B.I. Nominative / Smooth Thirds (nos. 103-114)

Twenty-two thirds were compared and 10 obverse dies were counted. No reverse 'dies' could be matched.

B.I. Nominative / Smooth Sixths (nos. 115-125)

Ten obverse dies were used to make the 31 sixths available for study. Again, no reverse dies were duplicated.

B.II. Fractions (nos. 126-175)

The type with the ram's head consists solely of fractional denominations. Like their larger counterparts the fabric of these smooth reverse fractions seem to be quite crude, although now the coins can be tiny in diameter. The flans are so small that it is impossible to recognise any reverse dies. For the uninscribed obverse dies however, it can be discerned that of the 49 12ths available for study, 26 obverse dies were used. For the 23 48ths available for study, 14 obverse dies were used. For the three 12ths available with an *e* inscribed on the obverse (B.II.b, nos. 168 and 169), two dies used. For the seven coins with *eu* (B.II.c, nos. 170-174), five dies were used.

C. Kingnoki....?

nos. 176-178

As this group also has a smooth reverse and no reverse dies are duplicated, the problems discussed above apply here. For the seven coins available for study in this category only three obverse dies were used.

The fabric of this group remains the same as Group B, quite dumpy, small and crude flans.

nos. 179-265

The fabric of these examples is not exactly comparable with the previous series as there is now an incuse punch applied to the reverse which tends to make them look more dumpy, yet this is in no way an indication of regression in technique. On the contrary, the smooth reverse used at the mint of Salamis may be the equivalent of other mints using a plain irregular incuse square punch, as seen at other Cypriot mints.

As this group has a number of different variations of types, one must divide the group into smaller series, and the fabric of some issues can be quite different from that of others. Overall, the most noticeable difference is that the flans tend to be more circular, no doubt due to the use of the incuse punch, while the flans with the smooth reverse tend to be more oval in shape.

With the addition of the reverse die, one can now record a die axis. Throughout this particular group the axes in general are set randomly.

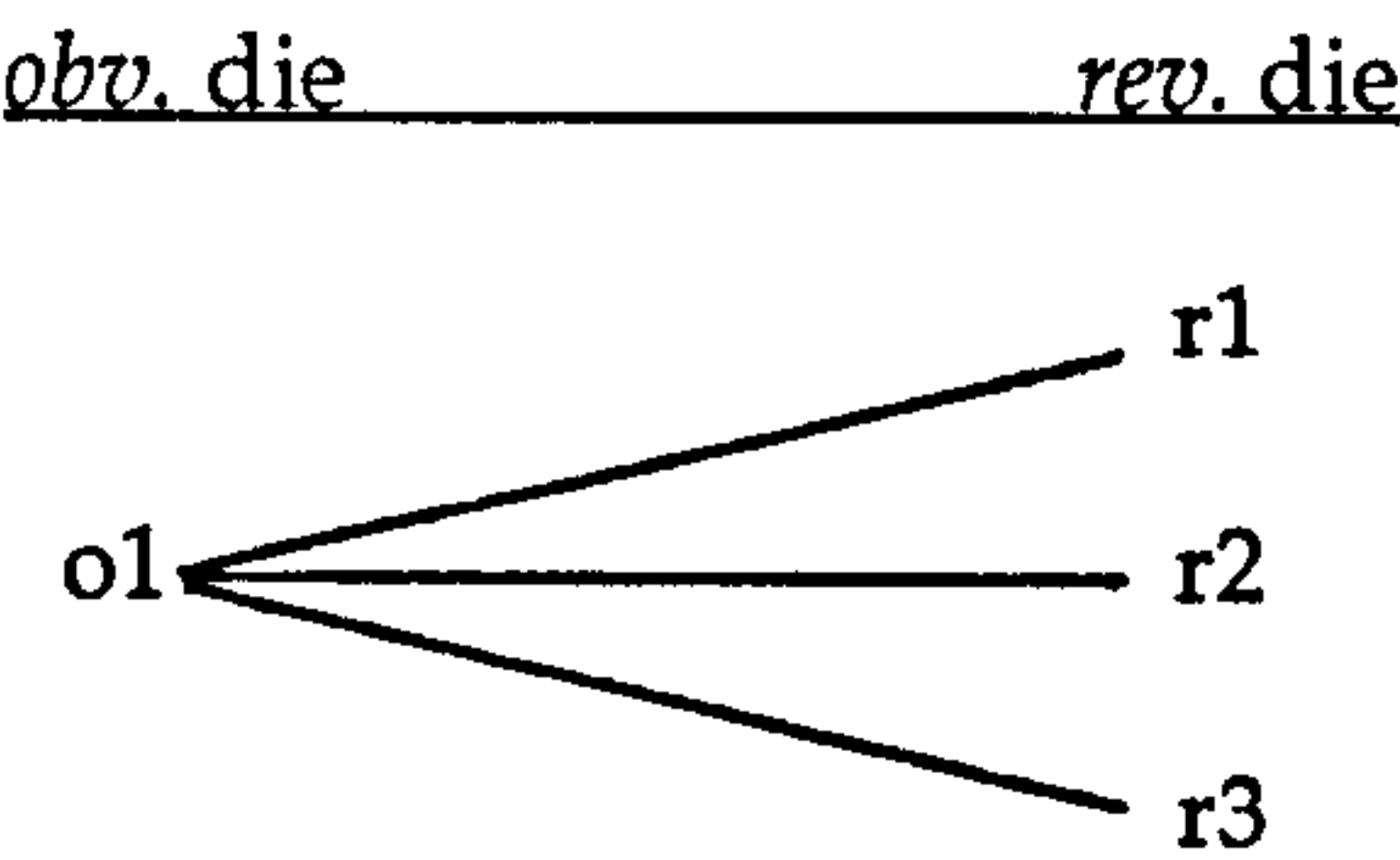
D.I. Ba Ankh (nos. 179-186)

Only two of the seven staters with *ba* centre to the ankh on the reverse reveal die duplication (no. 179). The majority of these coins exhibit broad flans but are in rather poor condition thus making an examination of their fabric very difficult. The two sixths are struck from the same reverse die.

D.II. Nominative / Ankh Staters (nos. 187-190)

Those coins with an ankh reverse and the obverse inscription in the nominative case tend to bear reverse incuse squares that are small in comparison to the flan itself, causing many reverse surfaces to bulge up on the sides around

the incuse. Of the nine staters available for study in this category, all are struck by the same obverse die. Eight of the nine are struck with the same reverse die.



**Table 2.iii.2. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Series D.II Staters**

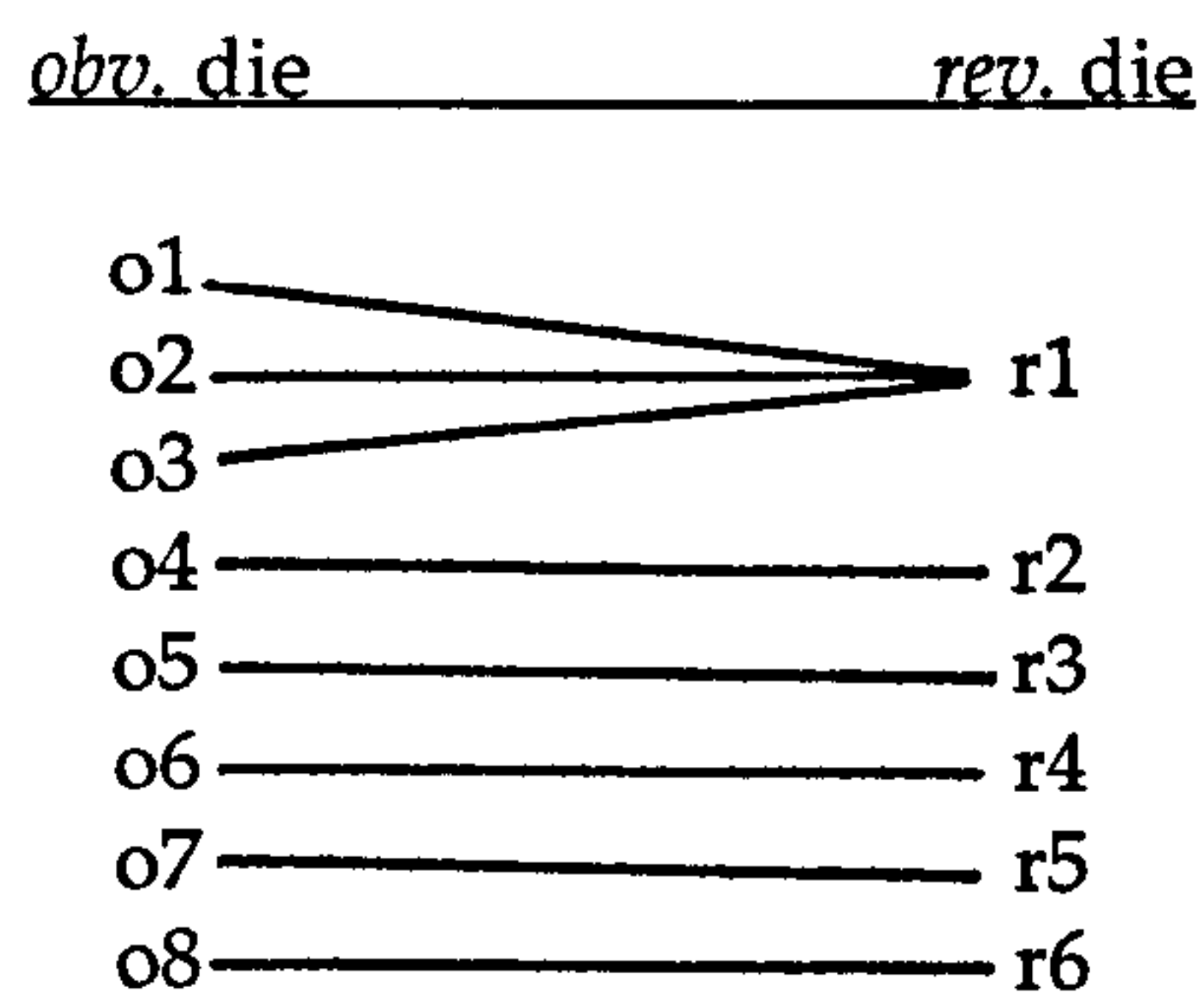
D.II. Nominative / Ankh Thirds (no. 191)

Both of the thirds which have identifiable dies in this category are struck from the same pair of dies.

D.III. Nominative? / Ankh Staters (nos. 192-200)

The coins assigned to this series are those which cannot be identified as either written in the nominative or genitive case as the obverse inscriptions are too worn. However, it is possible that these examples belong to the nominative series as the fabric of the reverse incuse square tends to remain very similar to that of the previous series with Evelthon written in the nominative case.

Of the ten staters available for the die study, eight obverse dies and six reverse dies can be identified.



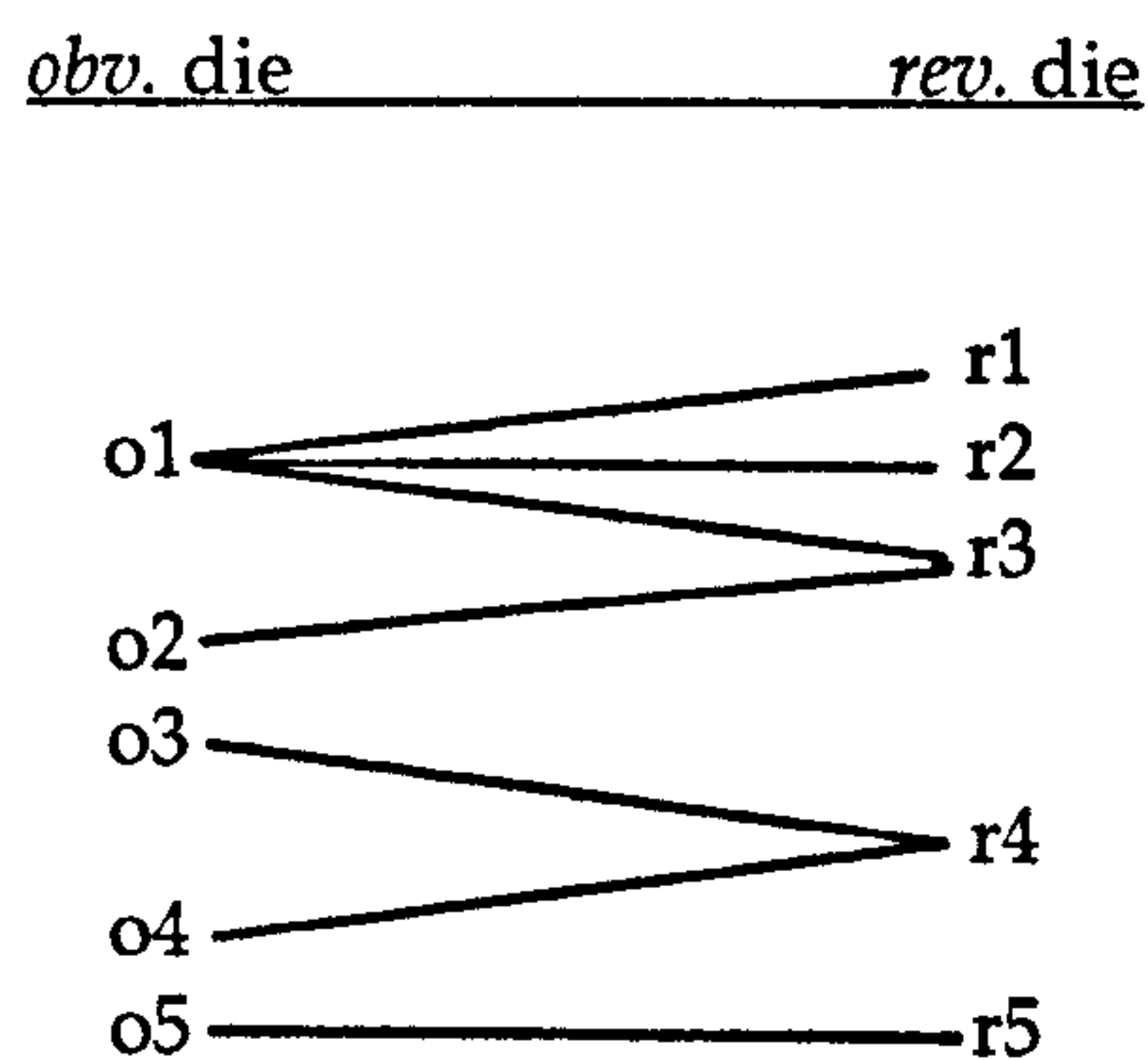
**Table 2.iii.3. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Series D.III Staters**

D.III. Nominative? / Ankh Thirds (no. 201)

Both extant specimen are struck from the same obverse and reverse dies.

D.III. Nominative? / Ankh Sixths (nos. 202-208)

The majority of the sixths in this group are difficult to categorise due to their very small flan, thus many must be placed here as it is impossible to discern the case of the obverse inscription. For the 12 sixths, five obverse and five reverse dies can be discerned.



**Table 2.iii.4. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Series D.III Sixths**

D.IV. Genitive / Ankh Staters (nos. 209-218, 221-224, 229-233, 235-237)

Most of the staters with the king's name clearly written in the genitive case and an ankh reverse with a *ku* centre are struck from the same obverse die (o1) which is coupled with two reverse dies. For the 23 examples in this category, only eight obverse and ten reverse dies are known.

The coins struck with die o1 exhibit many similarities in fabric to those with the king's name in the nominative case. The incuse square remains rather small and the flans are rather thick and comparatively dumpy. The transition in fabric is seen, however, with the combination of dies o2-r3 where the incuse square of the reverse is markedly larger; thus the flan becomes much broader. These coins in consequence are thinner and larger in diameter and much less dumpy than the previous flans.

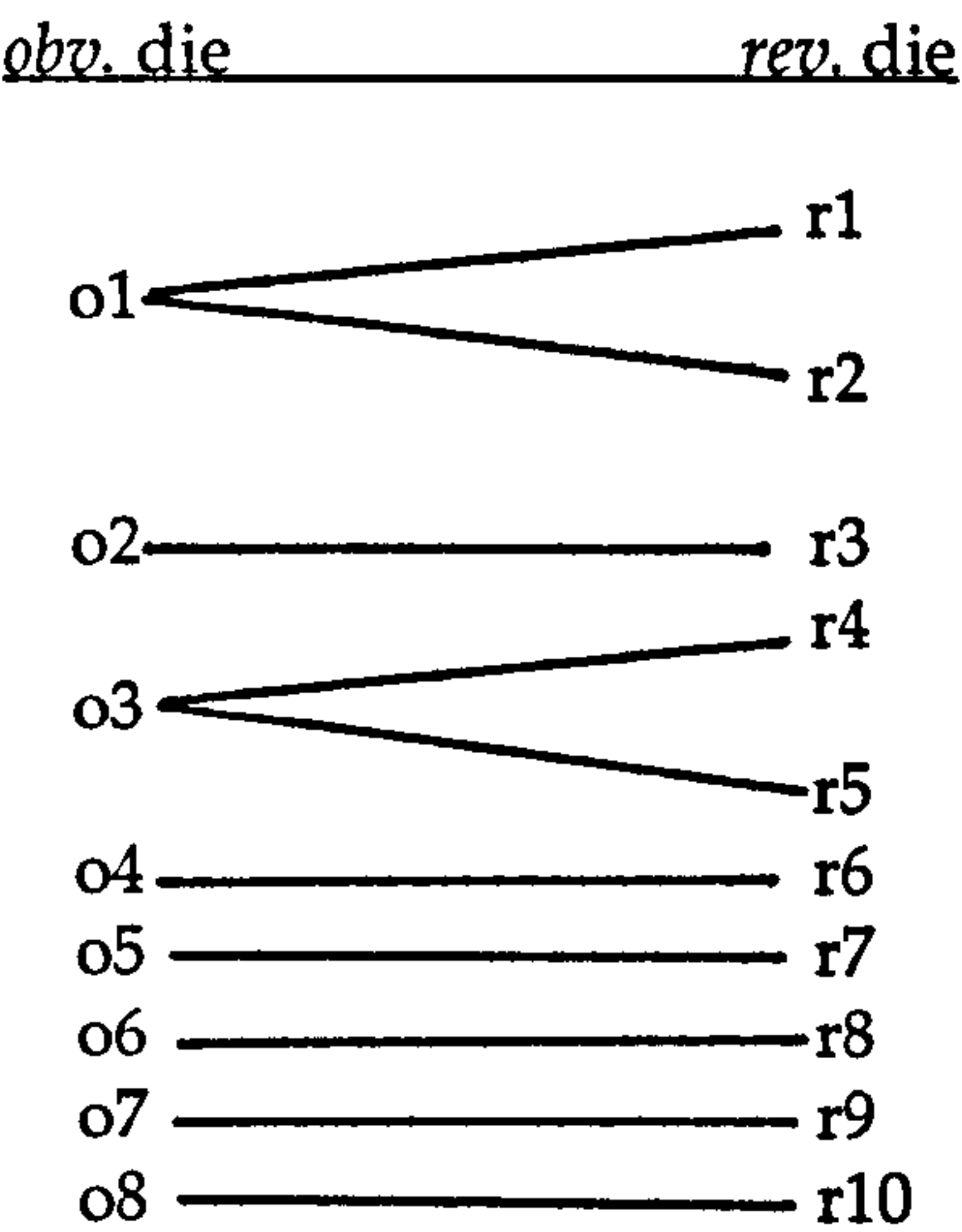


Table 2.iii.5. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Series D.IV Staters

D.IV. Genitive / Ankh Thirds (nos. 219-220)

The two thirds are struck from the same obverse dies.

D.V and VI. Ki and Ke Ankh Staters (nos. 221-222)

Two issues of staters, those with *ki* and those with *ke* added to the reverse field, exhibit a similar fabric with broader flans but retain the slightly undulating edge on the side of the incuse.

The two extant examples of the *ki* type are struck from the same obverse and reverse dies.

D.VII. Ko Ru Ankh Staters (nos. 223-224, 229-233)

A marked change in fabric can be seen in the examples with *ko-ru* added to the reverse field. These flans are broad, thin and flatter than any varieties seen so far. In addition, the incuse square of the reverse is very large encompassing most of the space of the reverse flan. It should also be noted that a number of the examples are set at either 12 or 6 o'clock axis.

The seven staters available for study in Series D.VII.b are struck from two obverse and four reverse dies.

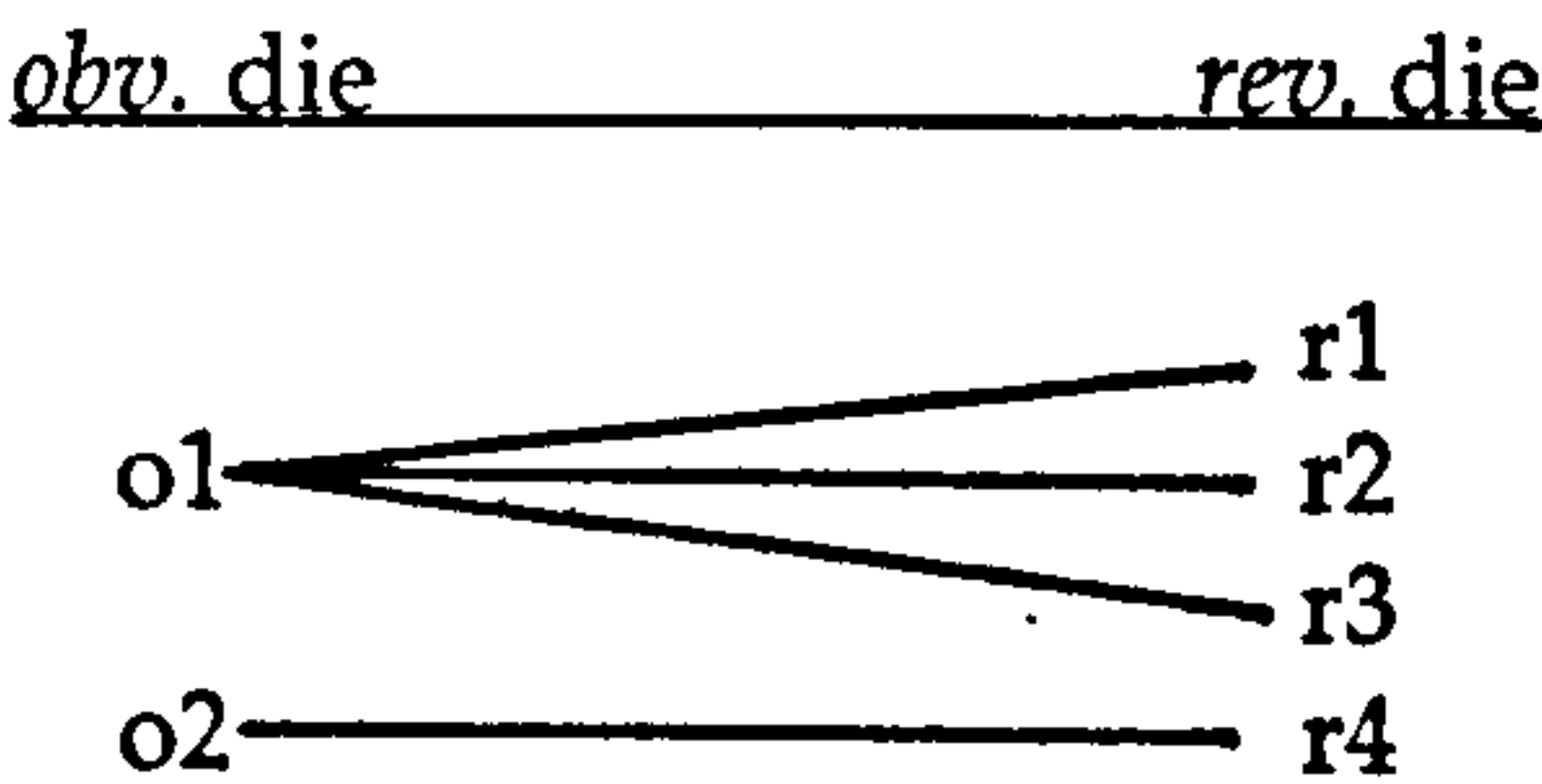


Table 2.iii.6. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Series D.VII.b Staters

D.VIII. Basi Eu Staters (nos. 235-237)

The coins with the obverse inscription *Basi Eu* exhibit a very similar fabric to those with the *ko-ru* reverse; broad, thin, flat flans with very large incuse squares which encompass the greater part of the reverse field. Two of the staters available for study share the same obverse and reverse dies.

D.VIII. Basi Eu Thirds (nos. 238-239)

The two thirds in this category are struck from different obverse and reverse dies.

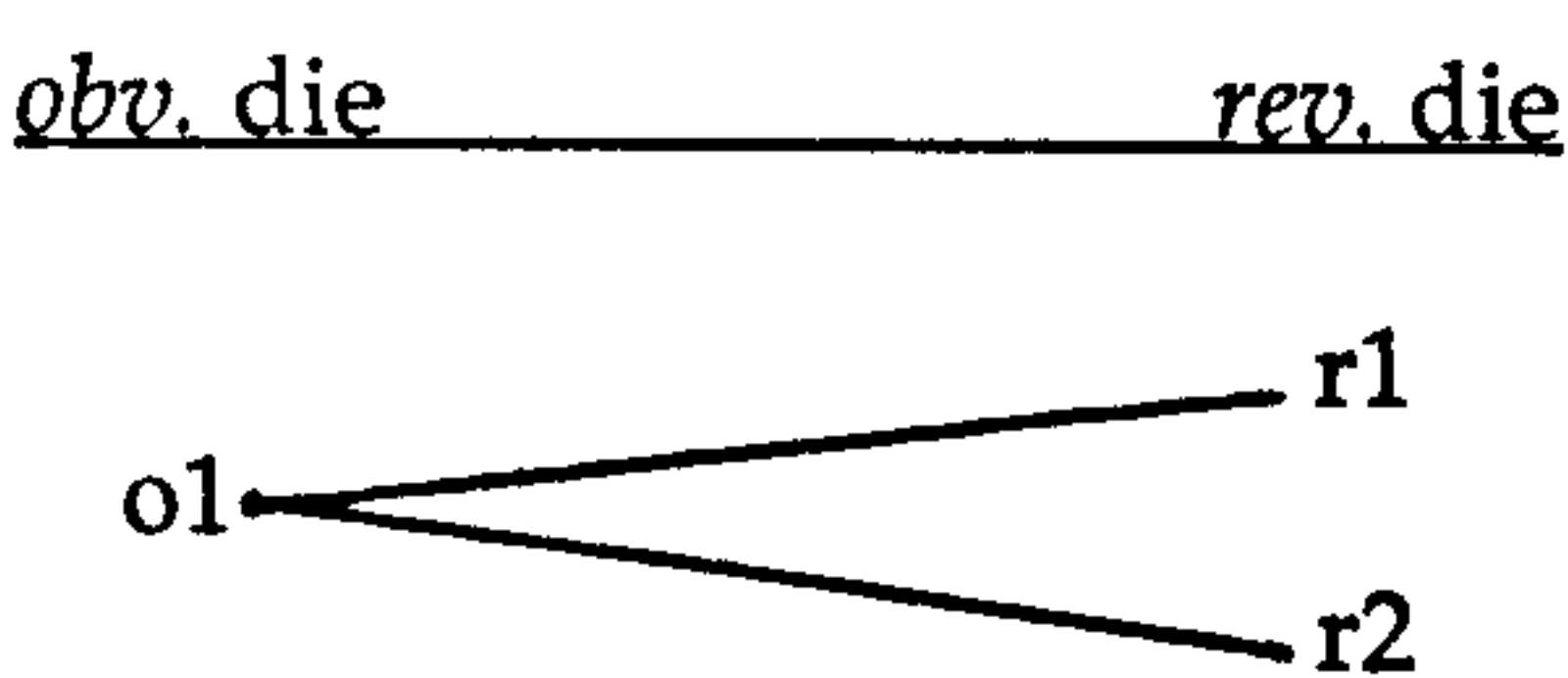
D.IX. Fractions (nos. 241-256)

The fractional denominations with an ankh reverse are presumably issued by the same issuing authority (or authorities) as the corresponding larger denominations. These fractional pieces, like their counterparts with a smooth reverse are quite crude in style and again seem to be a bit dumpy because of the sometimes pronounced incuse square. These coins can be quite small, some measuring only 7 mm. in diameter.

D.IX.a. blank centre ankh (nos. 241-251)

For the nine 12ths (nos. 241-249) available for study, eight obverse dies and eight reverse dies were used.

For the two 24ths (nos. 250-251) available for study, one obverse die and two reverse dies were used:



**Table 2.iii.7. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Series D.IX.a 24ths**

D.IX.b. *ba* centre ankh (nos. 252-256)

For the eight 12ths available for study, four obverse dies and three reverse dies were used.

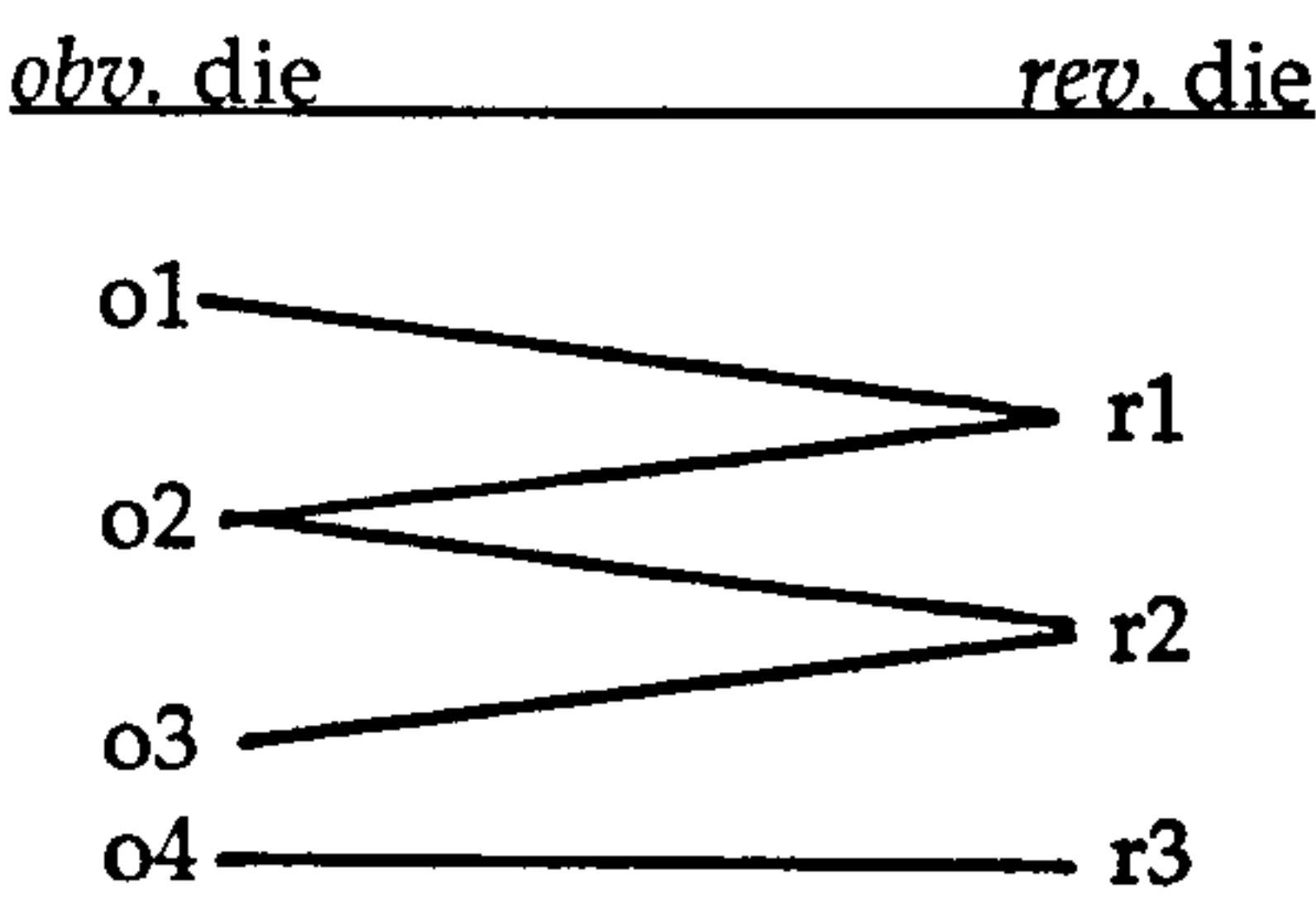


Table 2.iii.8. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Series D.IX.b 12ths

D.IX.d. *ku* centre ankh (nos. 258-265)

For the six 12ths (nos. 258-261) available for study, four obverse dies and two reverse dies were used.

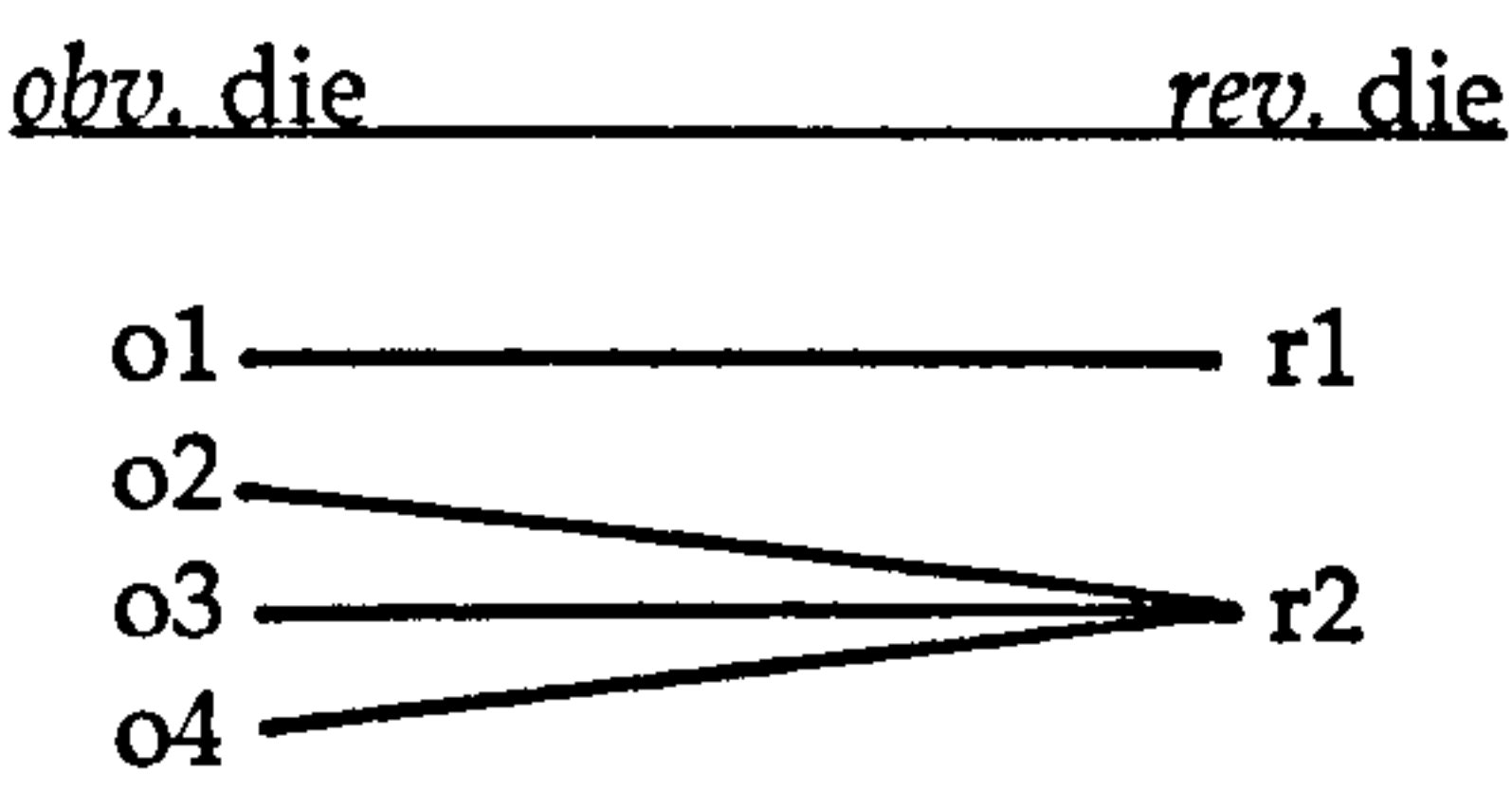


Table 2.iii.9. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Series D.IX.d 12ths

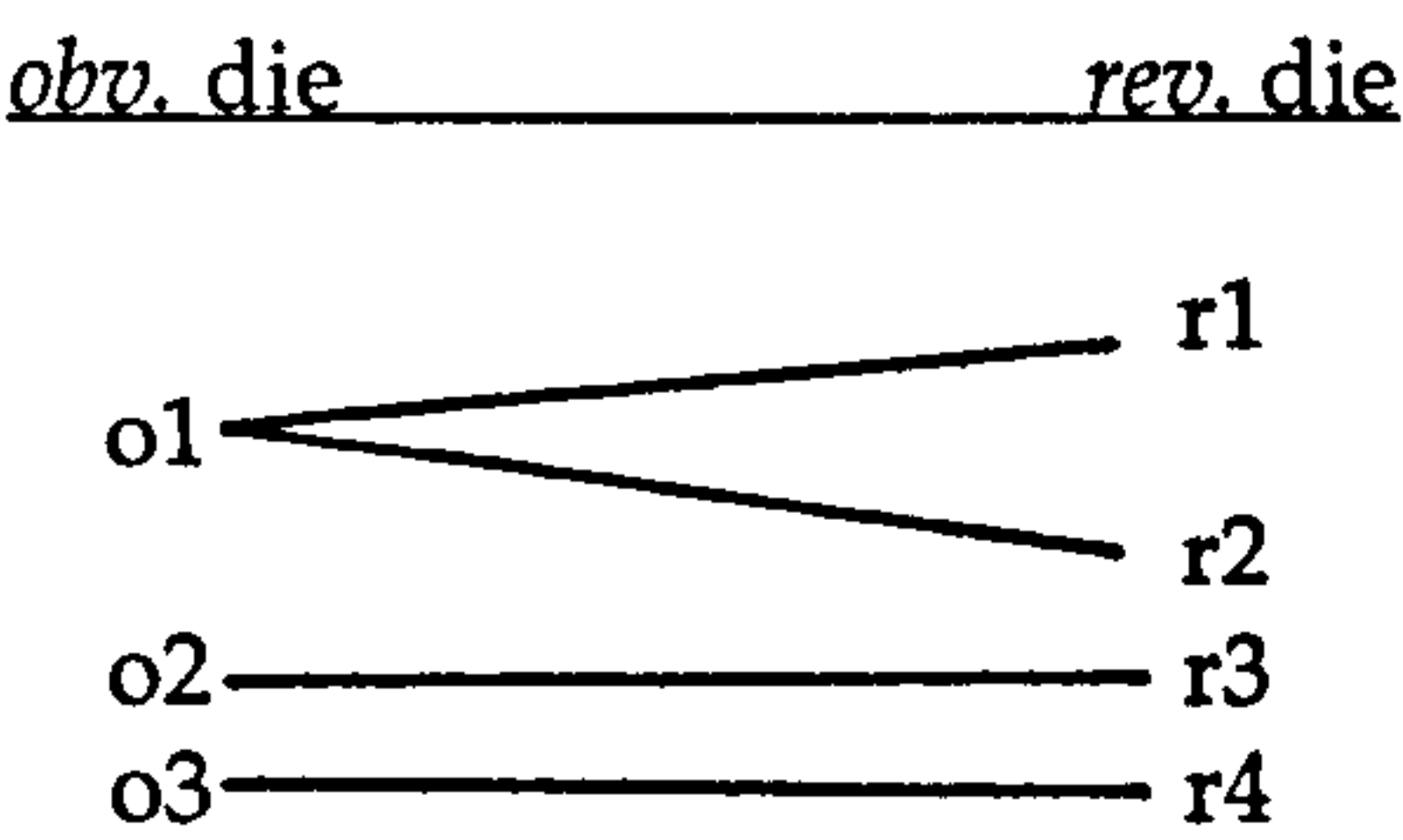
E. King Mo...

nos. 266-271

Only seven coins of King Mo... are available for study, all staters. The fabric of these coins is dumpy and quite crude. The flans are broad and the

incuses punches are even deeper than on most of the ankh reverse types. The die axes vary.

Four obverse and five reverse dies were used to produce the seven examples studied.



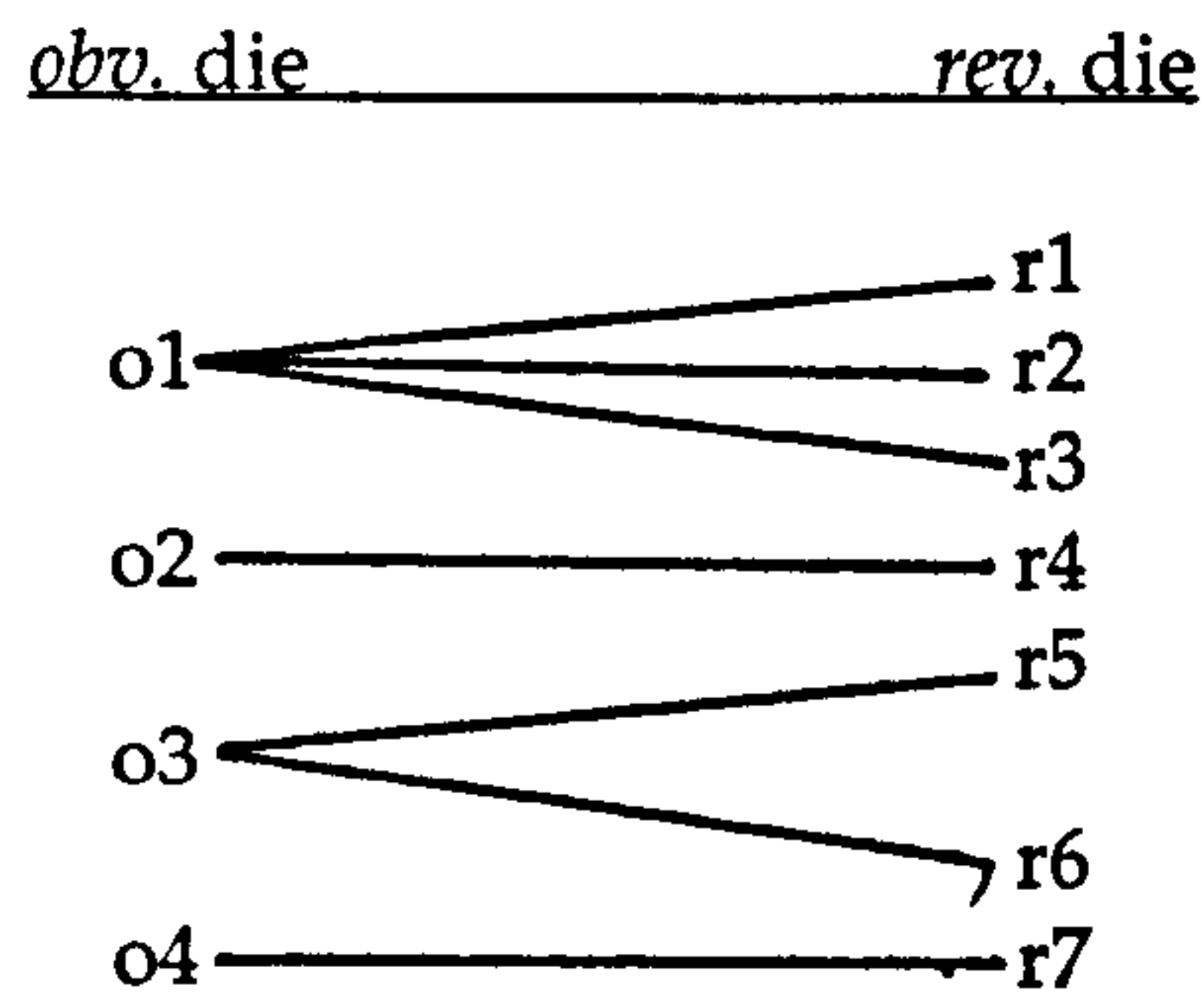
**Table 2.iii.10. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Group E.I Staters**

F. King Phausis

nos. 272-288

The coinage of King Phausis is represented by nineteen staters and four sixths. The fabric of these specimens compares closely to that of the issues produced under the name of King Evelthon written in the genitive case; the flans tend to be rather thick with comparatively shallow incuse squares. The average diameter of the flans is 19 to 20 mm. The axes vary.

The majority of the extant coins of King Phausis are staters. The three specimens with the obverse legend Evelthon (F.I, no. 272) are struck from the same obverse and reverse dies. The nine coins with the Phausis/Basileos combination (F.II, nos. 273-279) are struck from four obverse dies and seven reverse dies.



**Table 2.iii.11. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Group F.II.a Staters**

The two staters (F.II.c, no. 283) with the crescent and disc symbol are struck from the same pair of dies.

Two of the sixths (F.II.a, nos. 280 and 281) can be matched by their reverse die, while another two (F.V., no. 288) are matched by both their obverse and reverse dies.

The coinage of King Phausis consists of a large variety of different combinations of dies with various added symbols, such as the winged disc, inverted crescent and disc, and the grain of wheat. As there are comparatively few specimens available for study within each series, one may assume that this issue was much larger than the small number of extant specimens may suggest.

I. King Nikodamos

nos. 291-335

The coinage of King Nikodamos consists of mostly thirds and sixths, with very few staters. The fabric of these coins is somewhat more refined than that of the above listed issues. The flans tend to be flatter, especially for the thirds. The

average diameter of the staters is approximately 20 mm, the thirds - 15 mm and the sixths 12 mm. The die axis of all denominations continues to vary, although there seem to be a majority of examples set at 12 or 6.

The fractional coins of King Nikodamos, like their counterparts issued under the name of King Evelthon, are quite small with varied axis.

I.I. Selamini and II. kalarita Thirds (nos. 291-311, 321-322)

Among the 23 thirds of Nikodamos available for the die study, 7 obverse dies and 14 reverse dies can be counted.

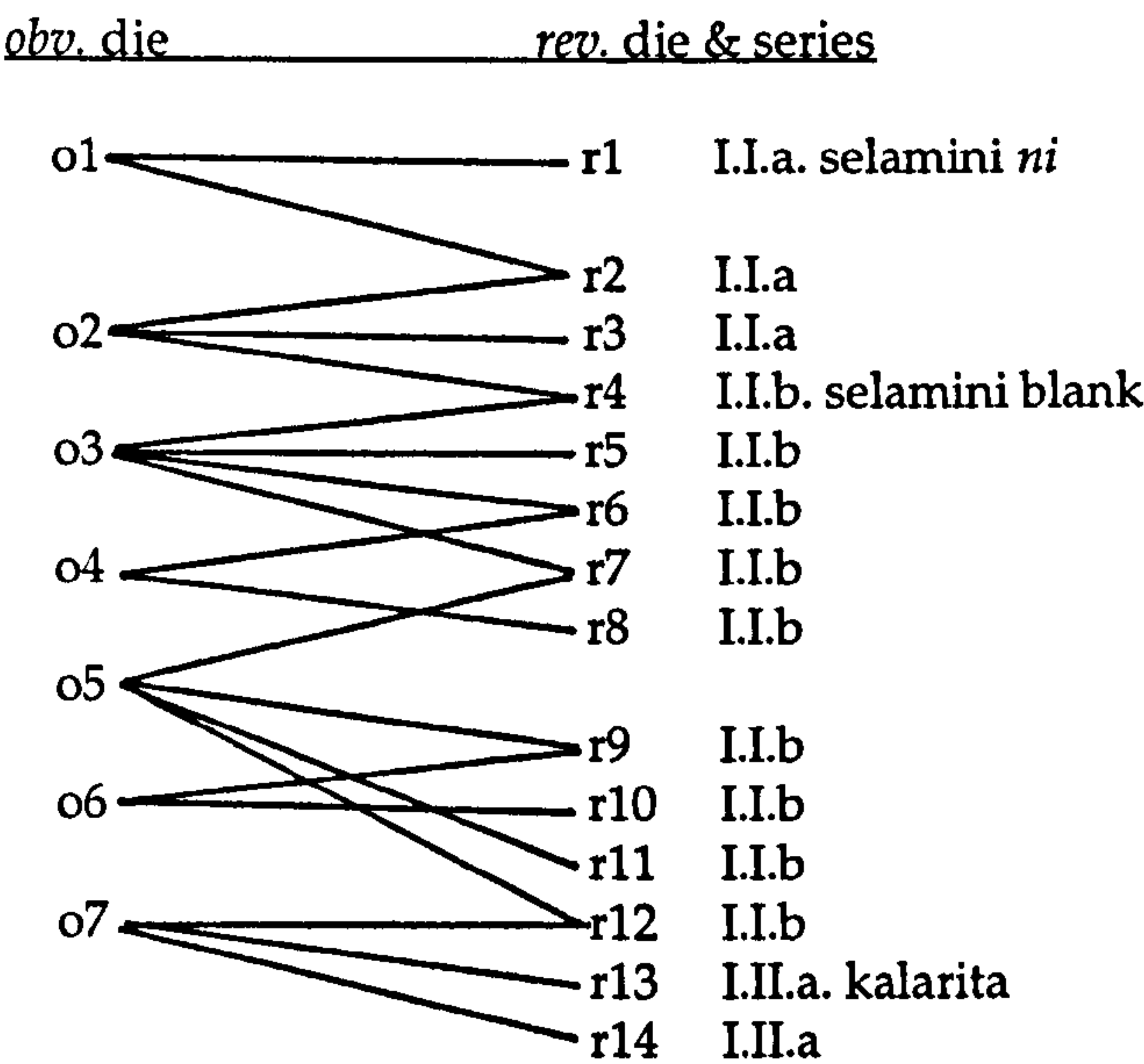


Table 2.iii.12. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of Series I.I and II Thirds

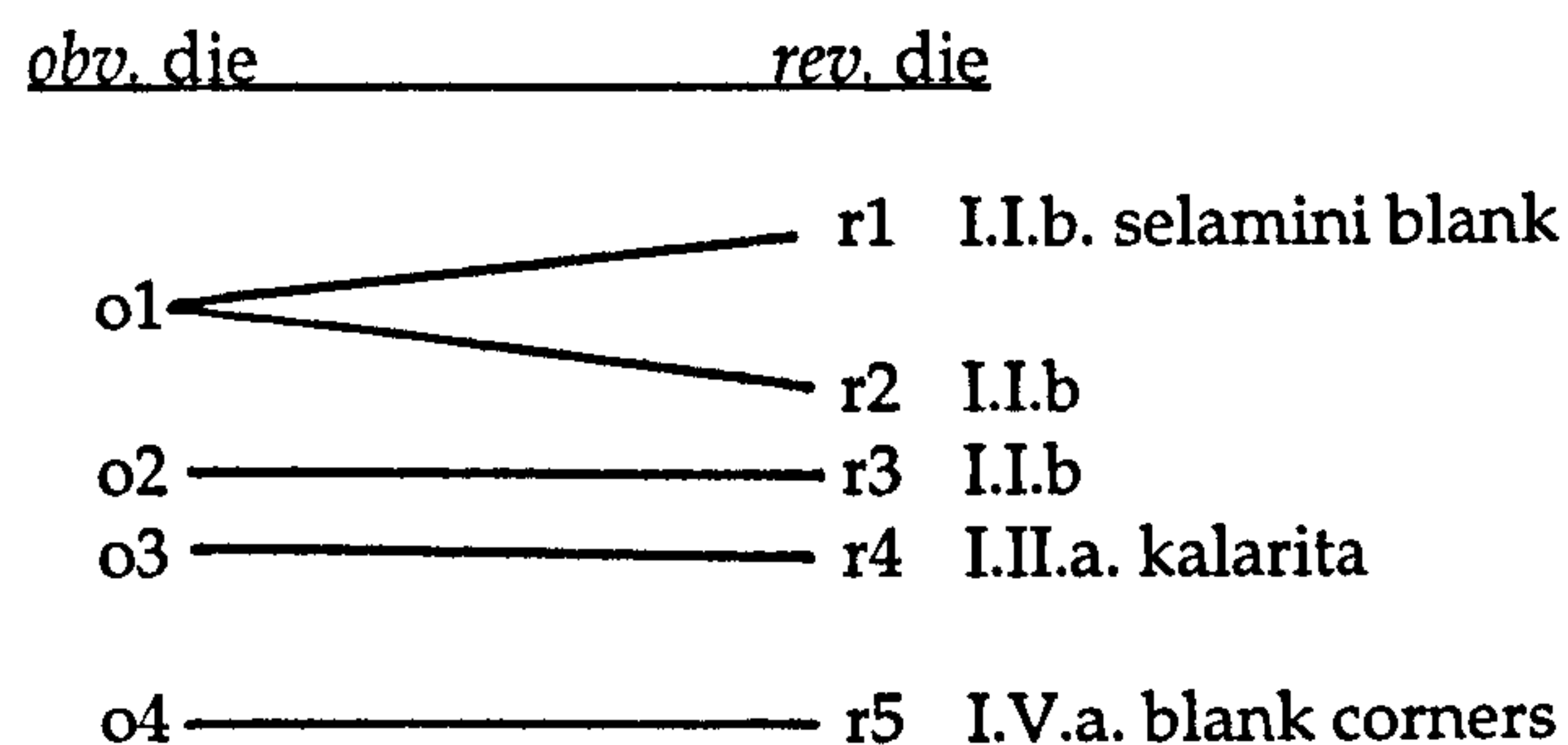
The die study clearly shows die links between those thirds with the selamini *ni*, selamini blank and the kalarita reverses. The die study further reveals that the selamini blank series (I.I.b) falls chronologically between the series with a *ni* centre to the ankh (I.I.a) and those with the kalarita reverse

inscription (I.II.a). The evidence does not, however, tell us which series (I.I.a or I.II.a) is earliest.

Moreover, one may suggest that the reading of the syllables in the order *ka-la-ri-ta*, as opposed to previous suggestions (*la-ka-ri-ta*),¹¹⁷ is the proper order as the contemporary inscription *selamini* is read in that particular order (counter-clockwise, starting in the lower right corner). Which inscription is earlier is not discernible from the die study.

I.I. Selamini (nos. 313-315), I.II. kalarita (no. 323) and I.V. Blank Corners (no. 329)
Sixths

For the nine sixths available for study, four obverse dies and five reverse dies can be counted.



**Table 2.iii.13. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Group I Sixths**

As there are no die links between the different series of sixths, the relative chronology is based on the evidence of the corresponding thirds (see Table 2.iii.12). It is impossible to assess where the sixths with blank corners fit into the relative chronology of type combinations.

¹¹⁷ See p. 62.

I.I.c Selamini (nos. 316-320), I.II.b kalarita (no. 324) and I.V.b Blank Corners (nos. 330-334) 12ths

Four obverse dies and eight reverse dies were used to produce these 13 12ths available for the die study.

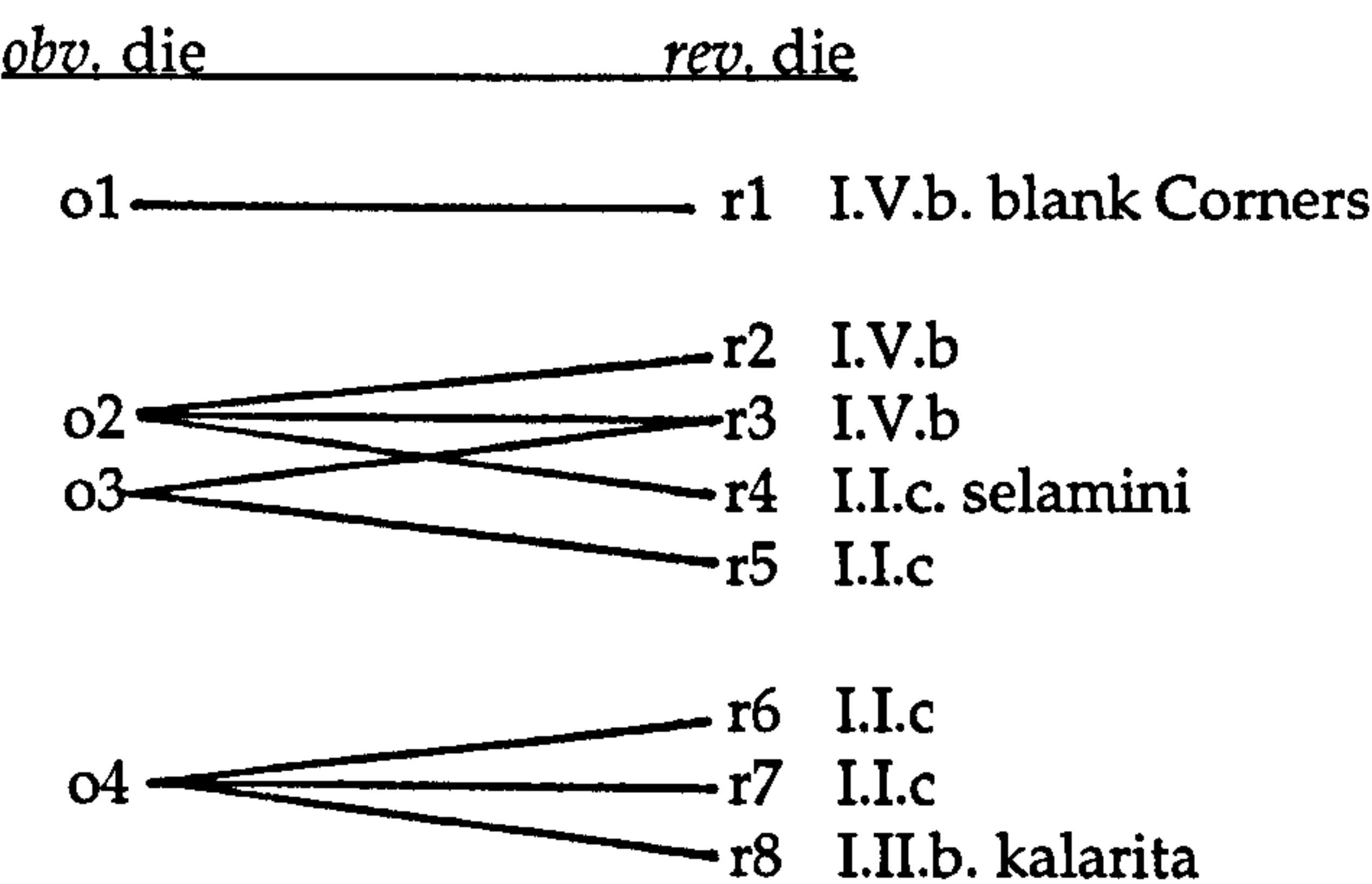


Table 2.iii.14. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Group I 12ths

The die study of the fractional denomination again shows a clear link between the selamini and kalarita series. Furthermore, with the 12ths there seems to be a link between those 12ths with blank reverse corners and the selamini inscribed series.

I. King Evanthes

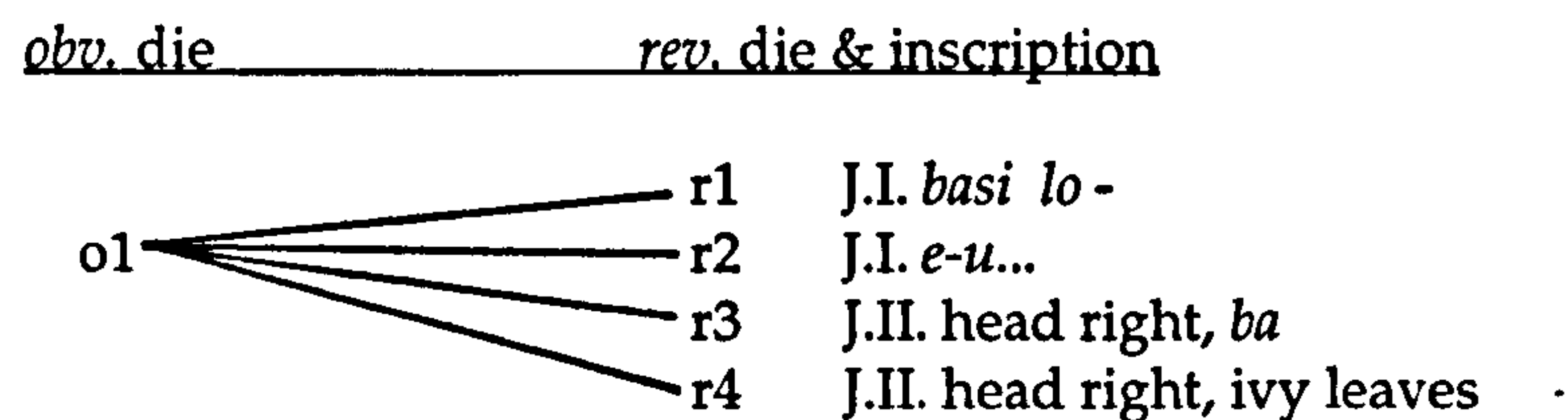
nos. 336-357

The larger coins of King Evanthes consists of seven staters and ten sixths. Both the staters and sixths are flat, thin and broad in fabric and quite refined with smooth clean fields. The average diameter of the staters is approximately 22 mm and the sixths is 13 mm. The axes still seem to be varied, although many of the staters are at 12 or 6.

The smaller fractional coinage of Evanthes consists of 12 specimens in all. Again, the axes are varied.

J. Evanthes Staters (I, nos. 336-337, II, nos. 338-339)

Seven staters were available for study among which one obverse die and four reverse dies could be recognised.



**Table 2.iii.15. Die Sequence and Relative Chronology of
Group J Staters**

The same obverse die was used to produce both series (J.I and J.II) of staters. The relative chronology of the reverse coins is determined by the increased wear of the obverse die.

J. Evanthes Sixths (III.a, no. 340, IV.a, nos. 343-344, and V.a, nos. 347-348)

Five obverse dies and five reverse dies were used to produce the ten sixths available for study. There are no die links between the three series.

J. Evanthes 12ths (IV.b, nos. 345-346, V.b, no. 349, VI, no. 350, and VII, nos. 351-357)

Eight obverse dies and ten reverse dies were used to produce the ten twelfths available for study. Again, there are no die links between the series. The only die link that can be established within this denomination is between the coins sharing obverse die 4 which links the reverse 5 with the V shaped flaw and

reverse 6, the specimen which incorporates a pitcher in the flan. Both of the coins (nos. 351 and 352) are within the uninscribed series J.VII.

J. Evanthes 24ths (III.b, nos. 341-342)

The two twenty-fourths are struck from two separate pairs of dies.

2.iv. Weight Standard

Previous scholars have considered the Cypriot monetary weight system for the sixth and fifth centuries to be set on the Persic standard. This assumption is based on the fact that the average weight of Cypriot staters is roughly double that of a Persian siglos (for staters of Evelthon to Evanthes the average weight is 10.95 g. compared to a Persian silver siglos weighing approximately 5.35 - 5.55 g.). From the evidence compiled in this catalogue, there is no reason to doubt this analysis.

In the first part of this section, the weights of the different denominations will be summarised based on the break-down of the specific type categories. In the second the system will be analysed on a more general basis.

A. Uninscribed/Smooth

Those coins which are uninscribed with a smooth reverse range in weight as follows:

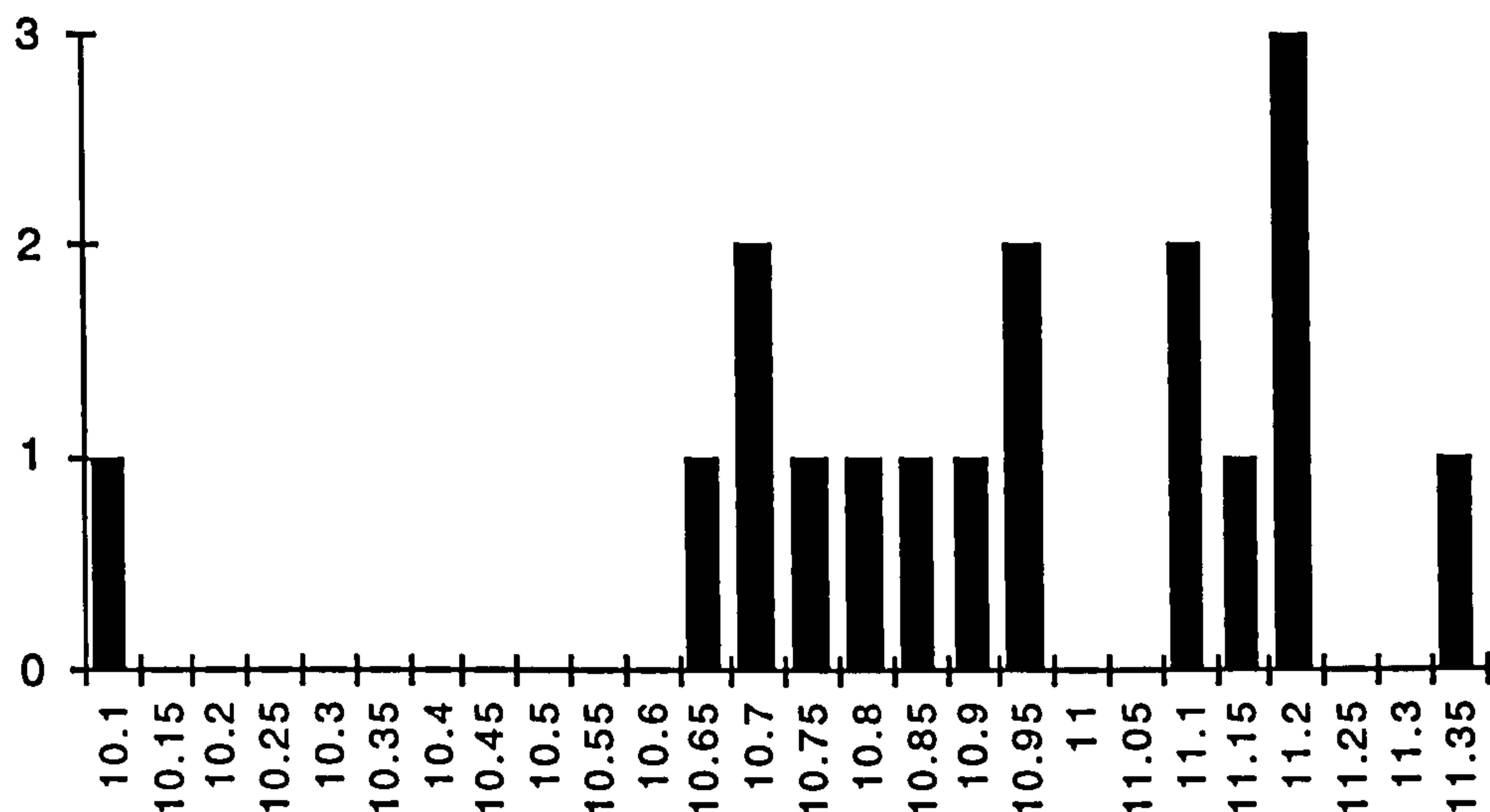


Chart 2.iv.1. Weights of Group A Staters

Staters generally weigh from 10.10 g. to 11.35 g. with a peak weight¹¹⁸ of approximately 11.20 g.

The one extant fraction, surely a third, weighs 3.77 g.

B. King Evelthon: Nominative /Smooth

Those coins inscribed with the name of King Evelthon in the nominative case and smooth reverse range in weight as follows:

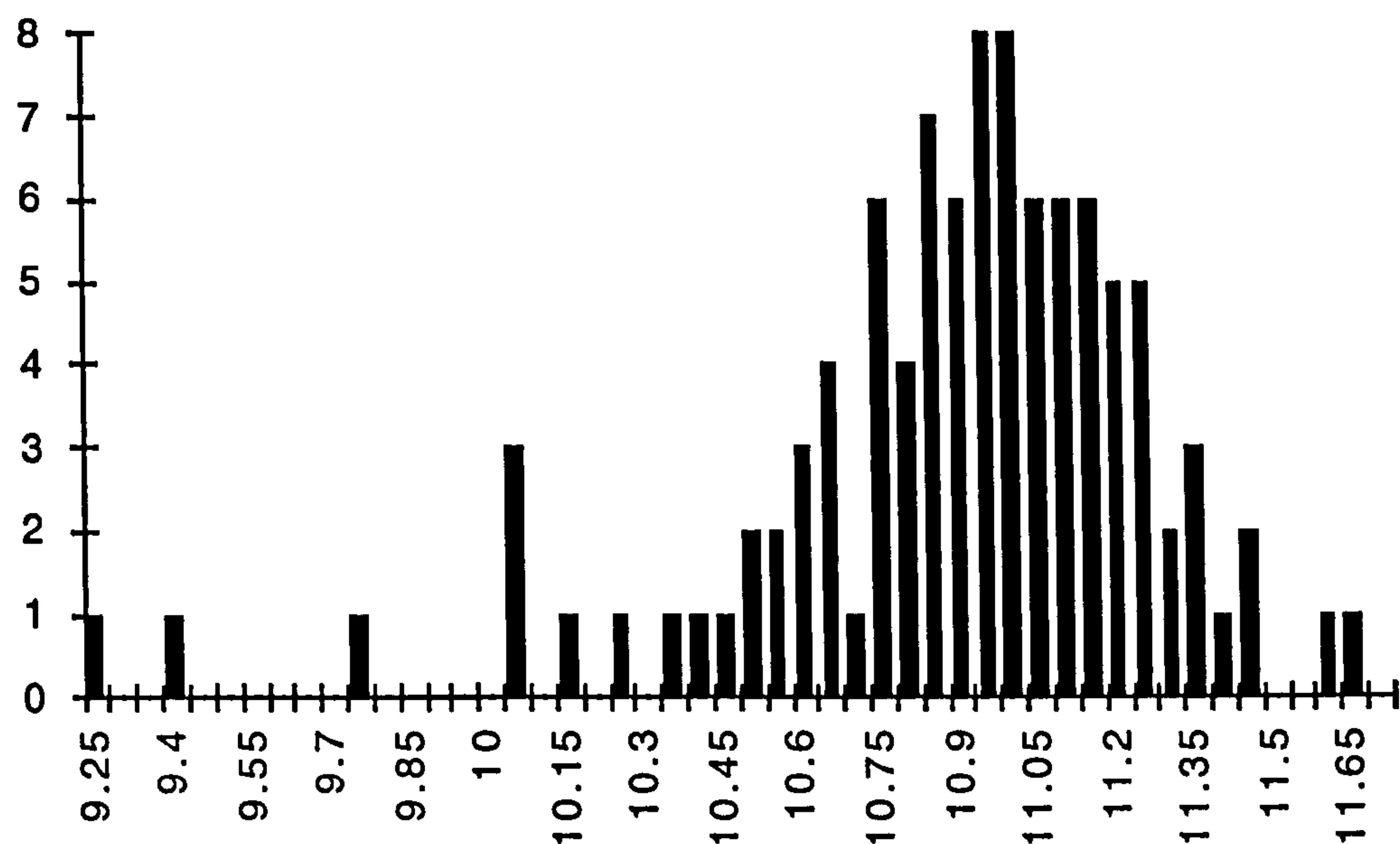


Chart 2.iv.2. Weights of Series B.I Staters

Staters range in weight from 9.25 g. (the one weighing 8.74 is in very poor condition) to 11.64 g. with a peak weight of approximately 11.00 g.

¹¹⁸ 'peak weight' will always refer to the highest curve on the weight chart.

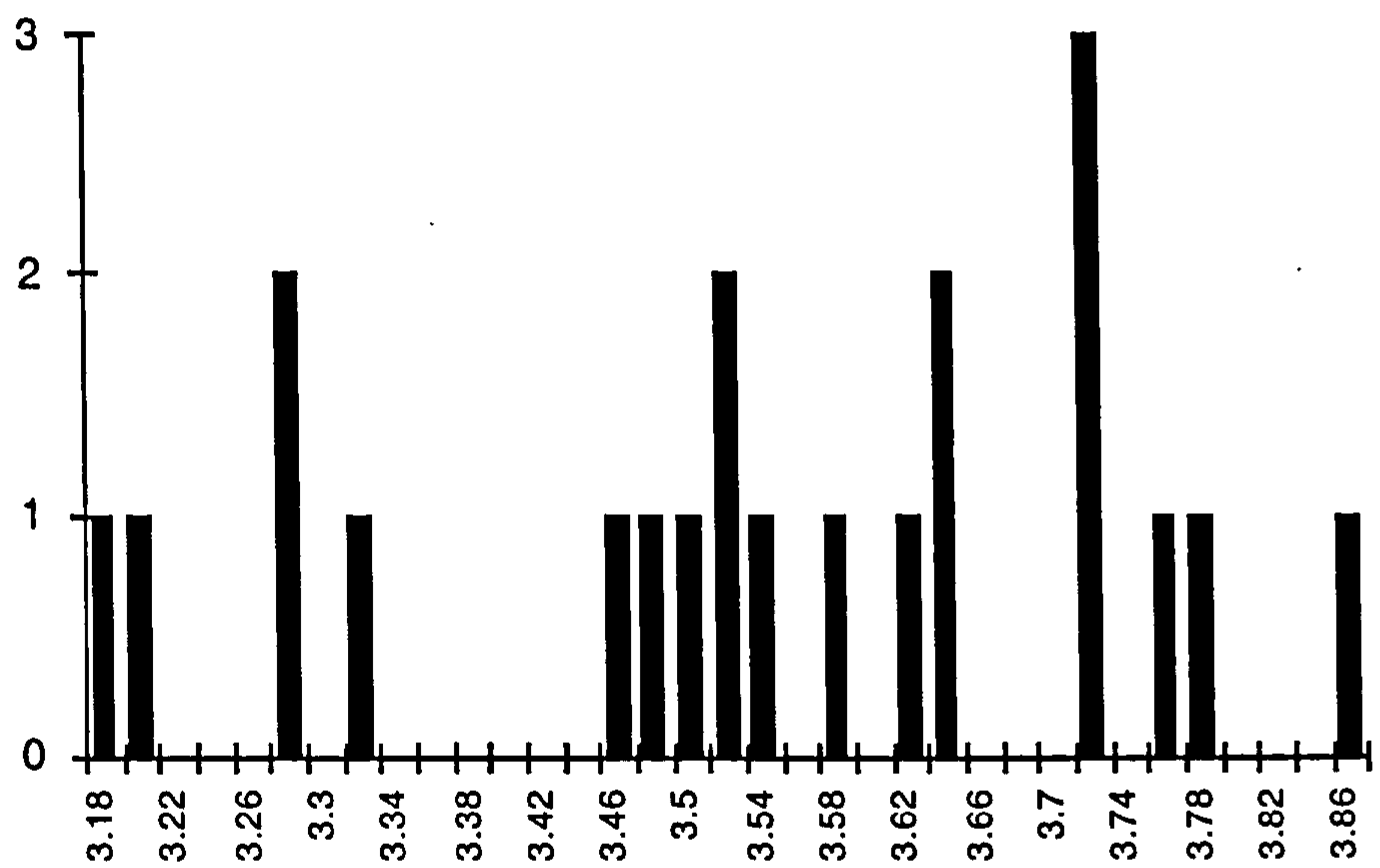


Chart 2.iv.3. Weights of Series B.I Thirds

Thirds weigh from 3.17 g. to 3.85 g. with a peak weight of 3.72 g.

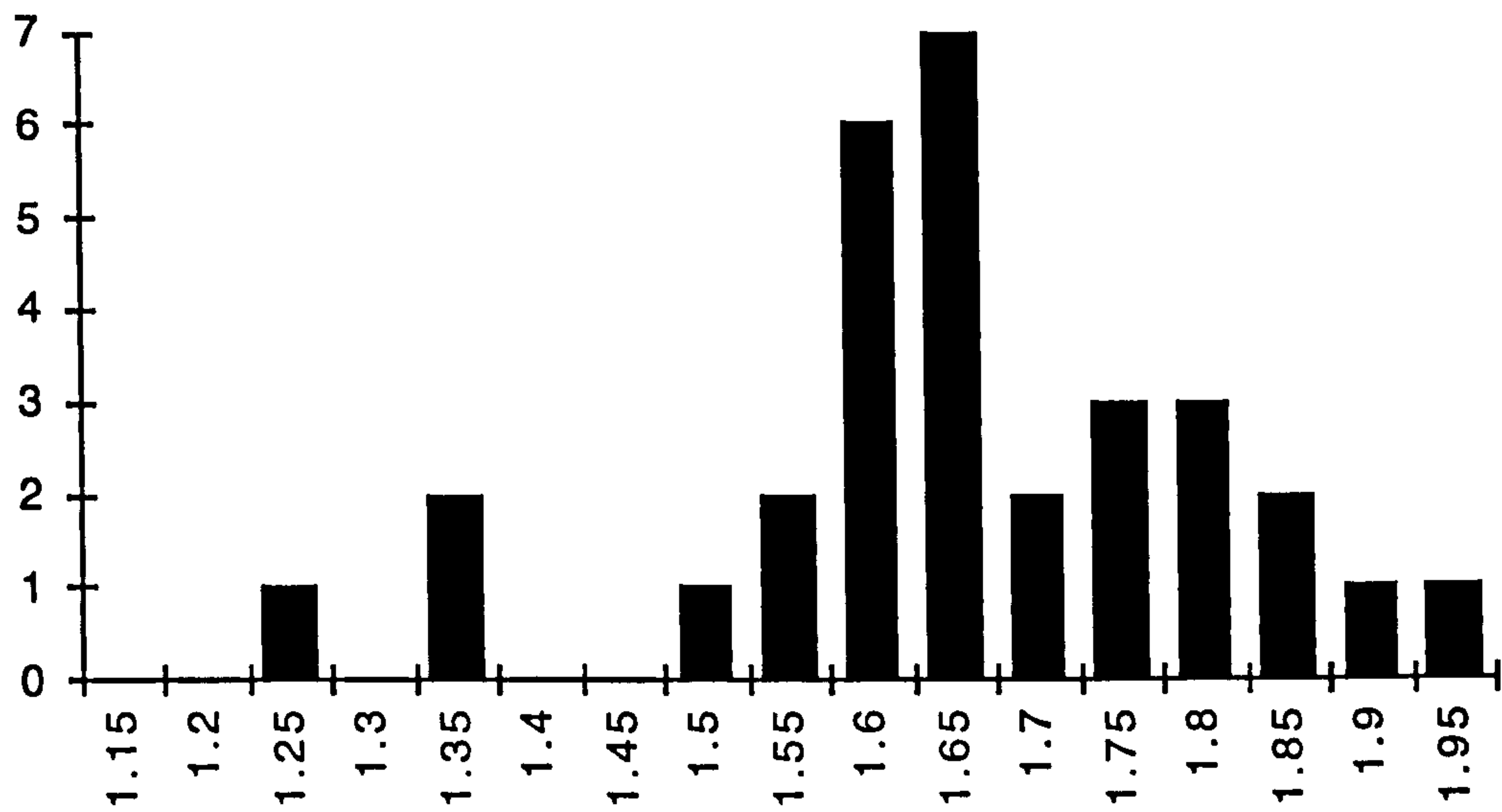


Chart 2.iv.4. Weights of Series B.I Sixths

The sixths weigh from 1.22 g. to 1.95 g., with a peak weight at 1.65 g.

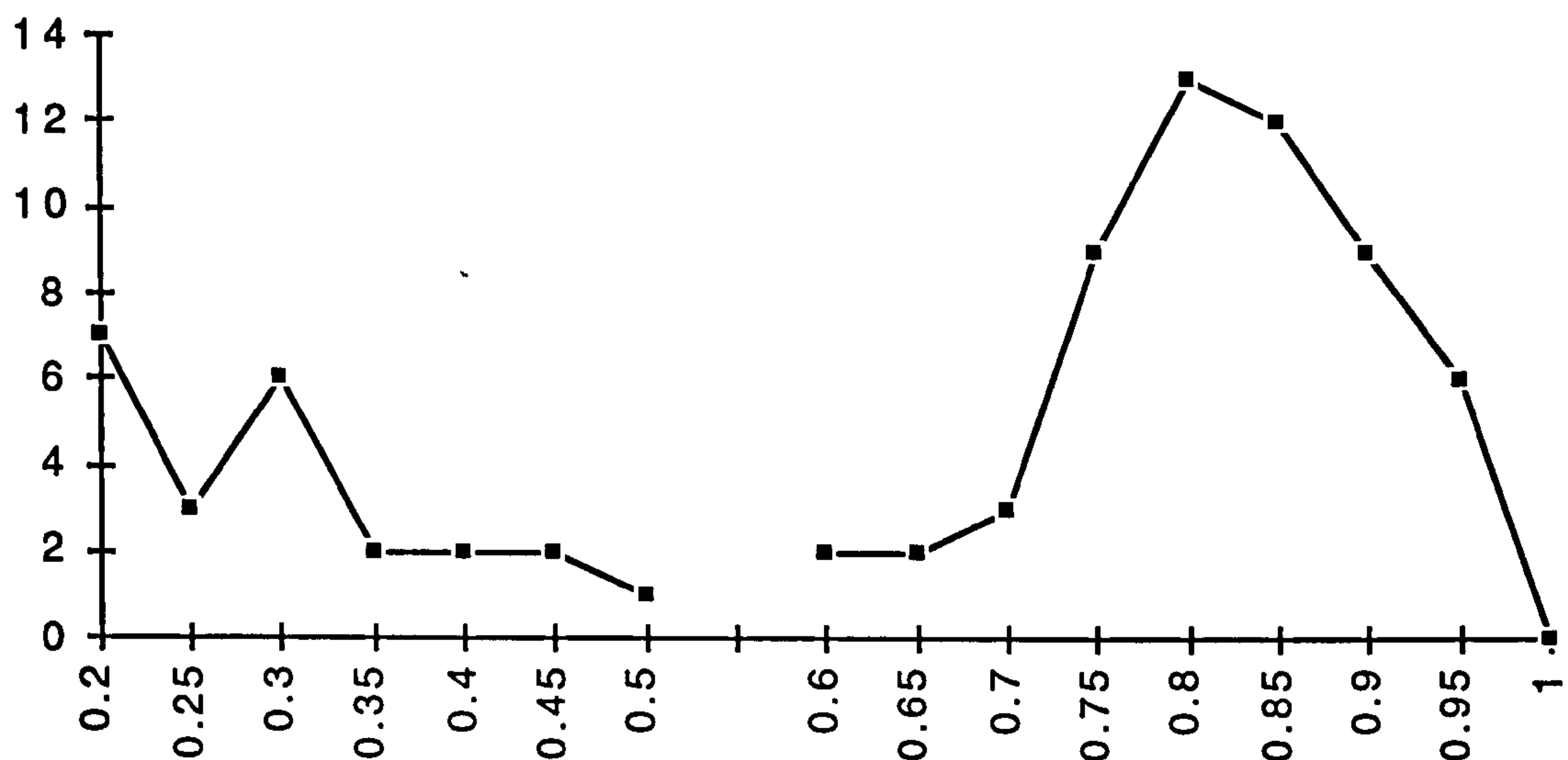


Chart 2.iv.5. Weights of Series B.II Fractions

Smooth reverse fractional specimens weigh from 0.06 g. to 0.95 g. with peak weights at 0.80 g. representing a 12th of a stater and approximately 0.30 g. or 0.22 g. representing a 48th of a stater.

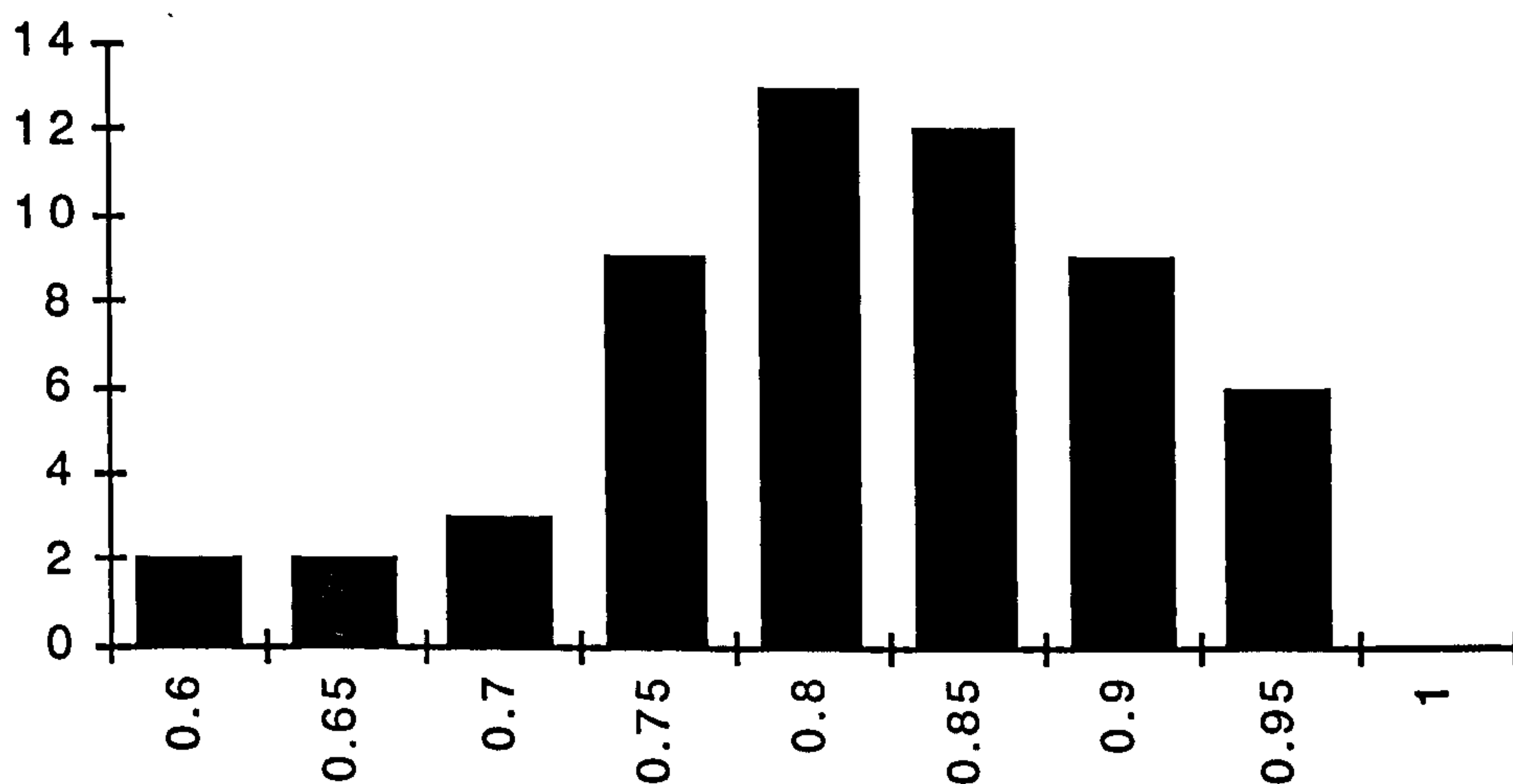


Chart 2.iv.6. Weights of Series B.II 12ths

The 12ths range from 0.58 g. to 0.95 g. with a peak weight at 0.80 g.

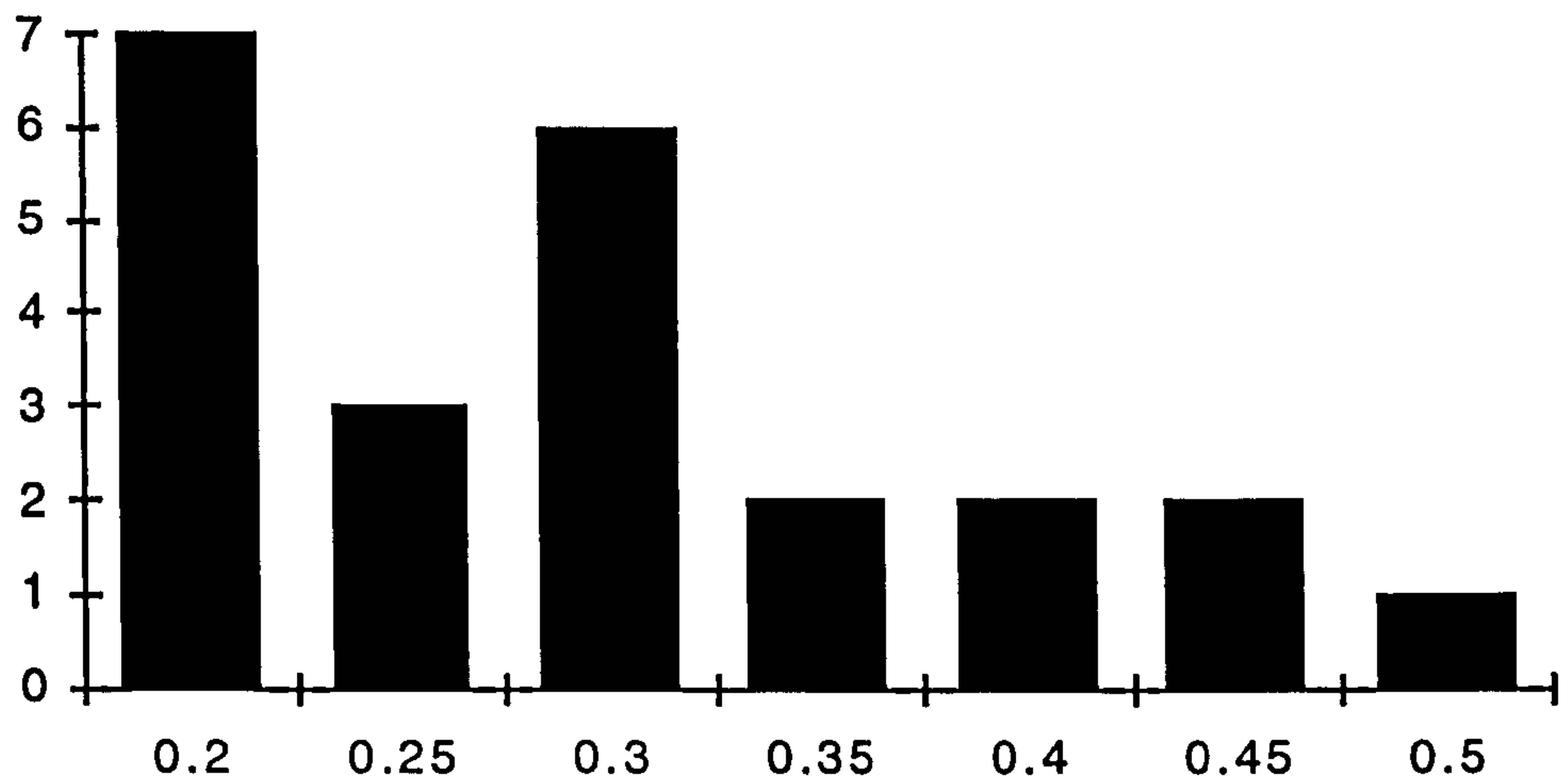


Chart 2.iv.7. Weights Series B.II 48ths

The 48ths weigh from 0.16 g. to 0.46 g. with a peak weight between 0.30 g. and 0.20 g. There are two specimens which weigh considerably less, at 0.06 g.; whether or not this represents an even smaller denomination is unclear.

C. King ...noki.../Smooth Reverse

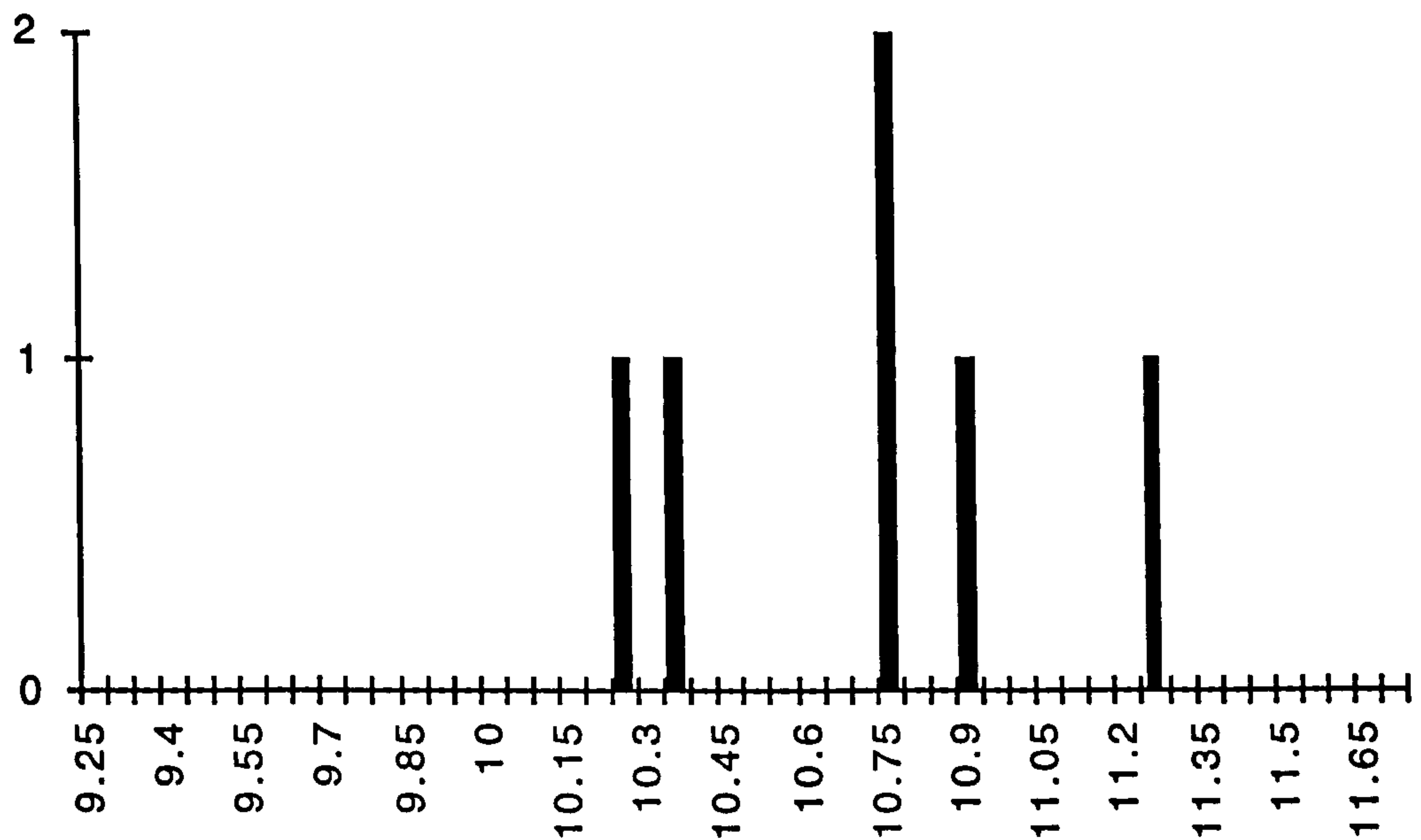


Chart 2.iv.8. Weights of Group C Staters

Those staters inscribed with the name of ...noki... with a smooth reverse range in weight from 10.23 g. to 11.24 g., with a peak weight of 10.75 g.

D. King Evelthon and/or his Successors

D. I. Ba Ankh

Those inscribed coins which only show traces of obverse inscription and a *ba* centre to the ankh reverse range in weight as follows:

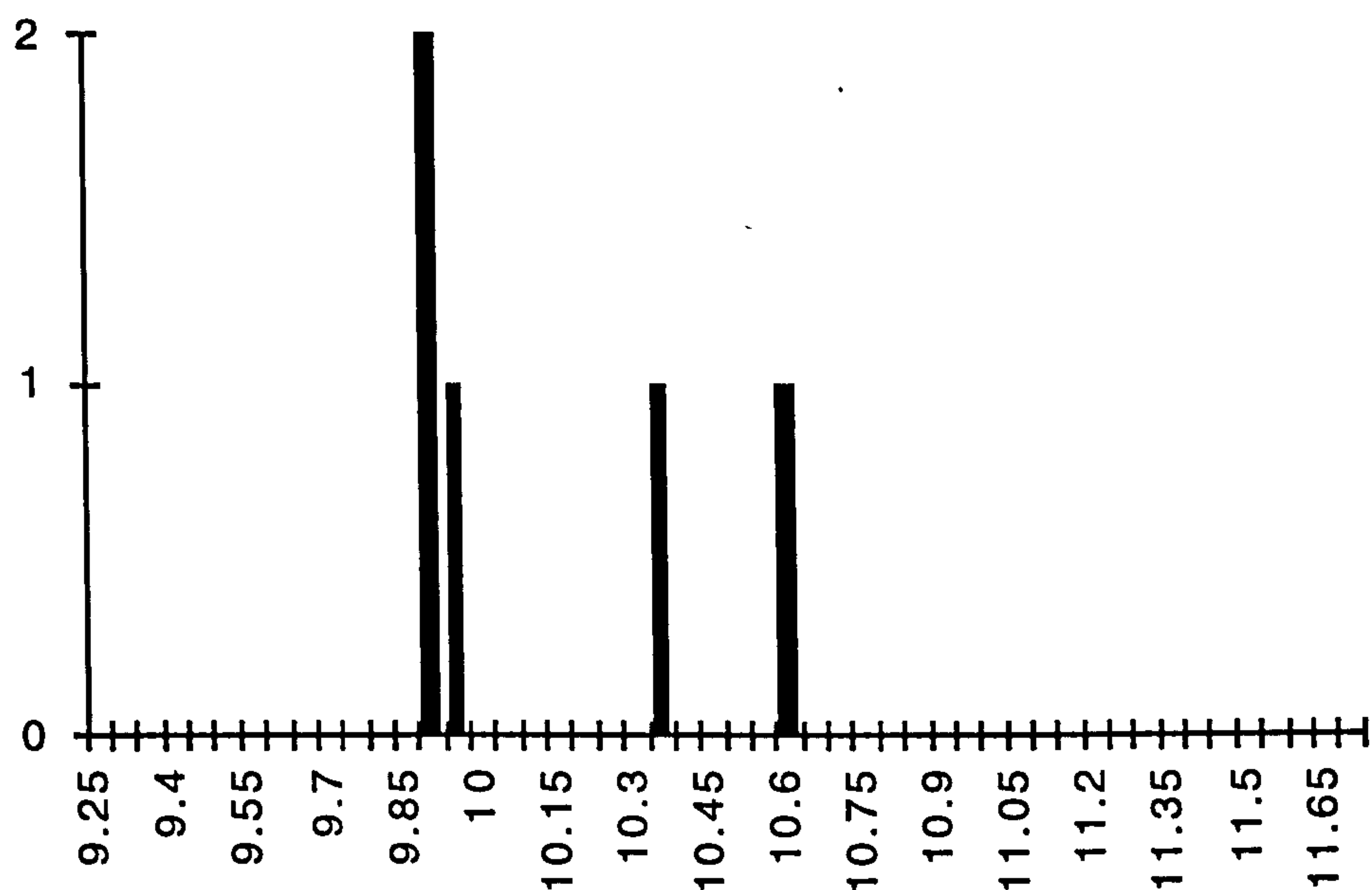


Chart 2.iv.9. Weights of Series D.I Staters

Staters: weigh from 9.89 g. to 10.56 g.

Sixth: 1.79 g.

D.II. Nominative / Ankh

Those coins inscribed with the name of King Evelthon in the nominative case and an ankh reverse range in weight as follows:

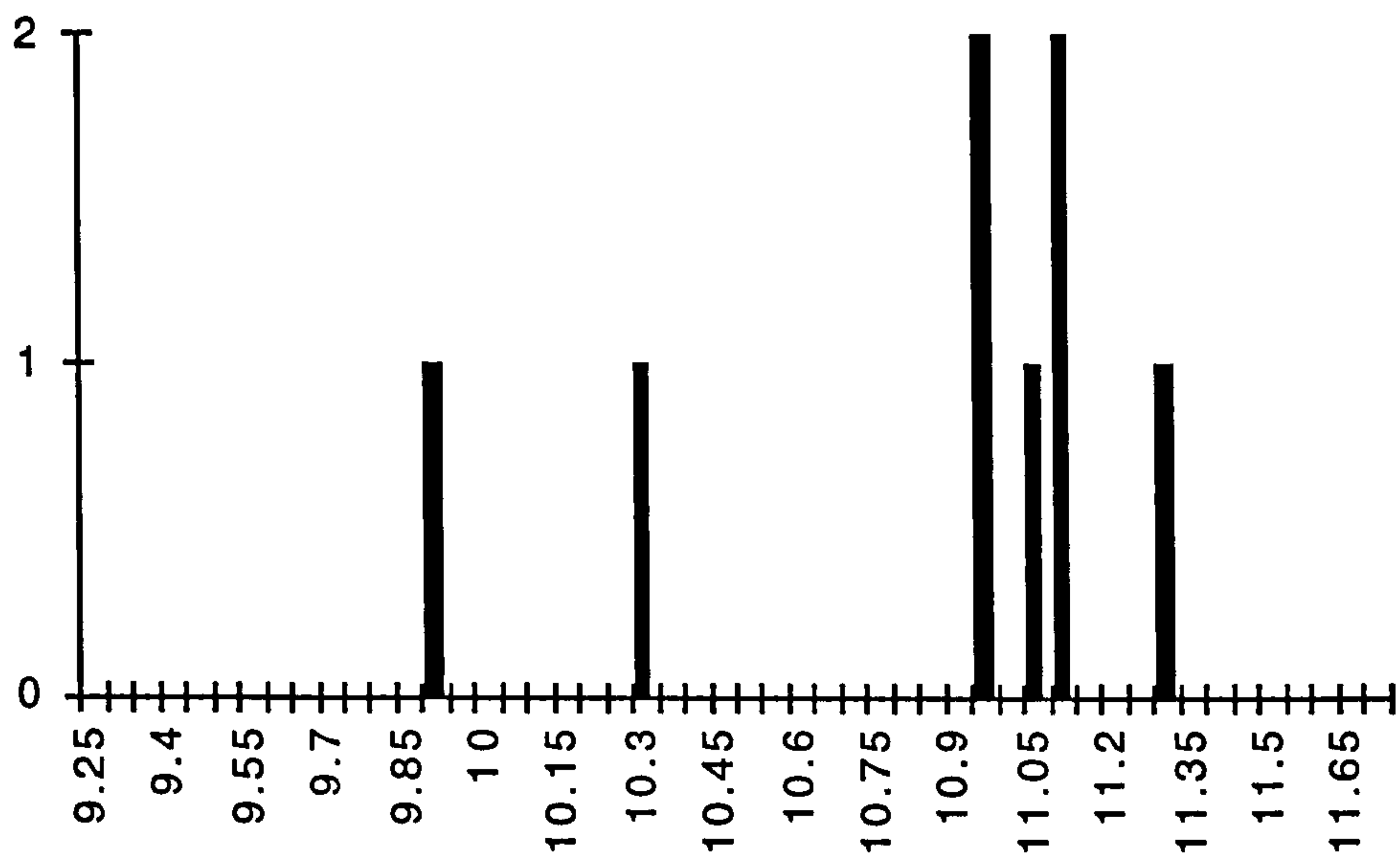


Chart 2.iv.10. Weights of Series D.II Staters

Series D.II staters weigh from 9.90 g. to 11.28 g. with an average peak weight of approximately 11.00 - 11.10 g. The two extant thirds weigh 3.47 and 3.99 g.

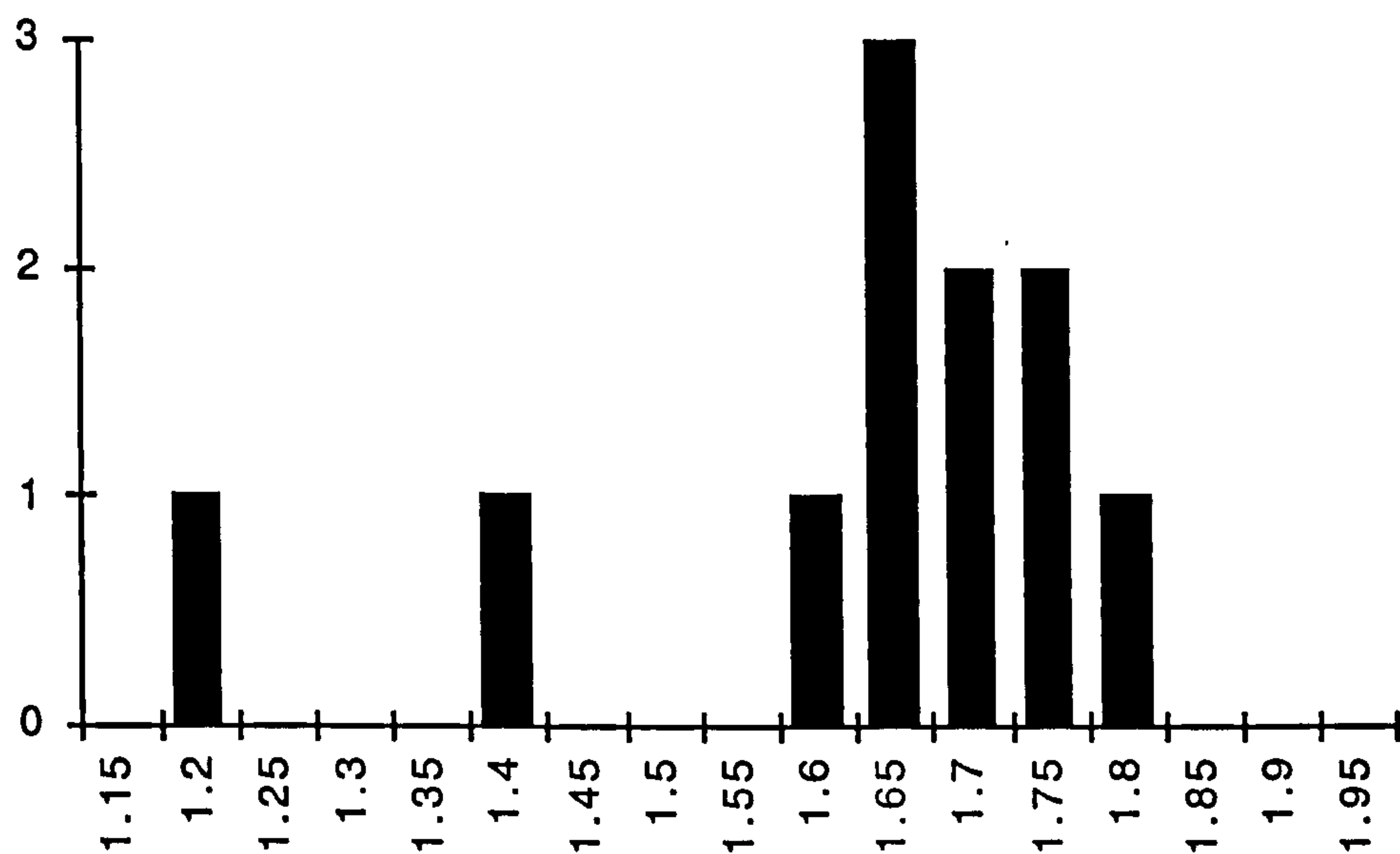


Chart 2.iv.11. Weights of Series D.II Sixths

Series D.II sixths weigh 1.16 g. to 1.76 g., with a peak weight of 1.65 g.

D.III. Nominative? / Ankh

Those few staters which are presumably inscribed in the nominative case and have an ankh reverse range in weight between 9.35 g. and 11.27 g., with an average weight of approximately 11.10 g. The two extant thirds weigh 3.42 g. and 3.50 g.

D.IV. Genitive / Ankh

Those coins inscribed with the name of King Evelthon in the genitive case (including those with *ki*, *ke* and *ko-ru* reverse) and an ankh reverse range in weight as follows:

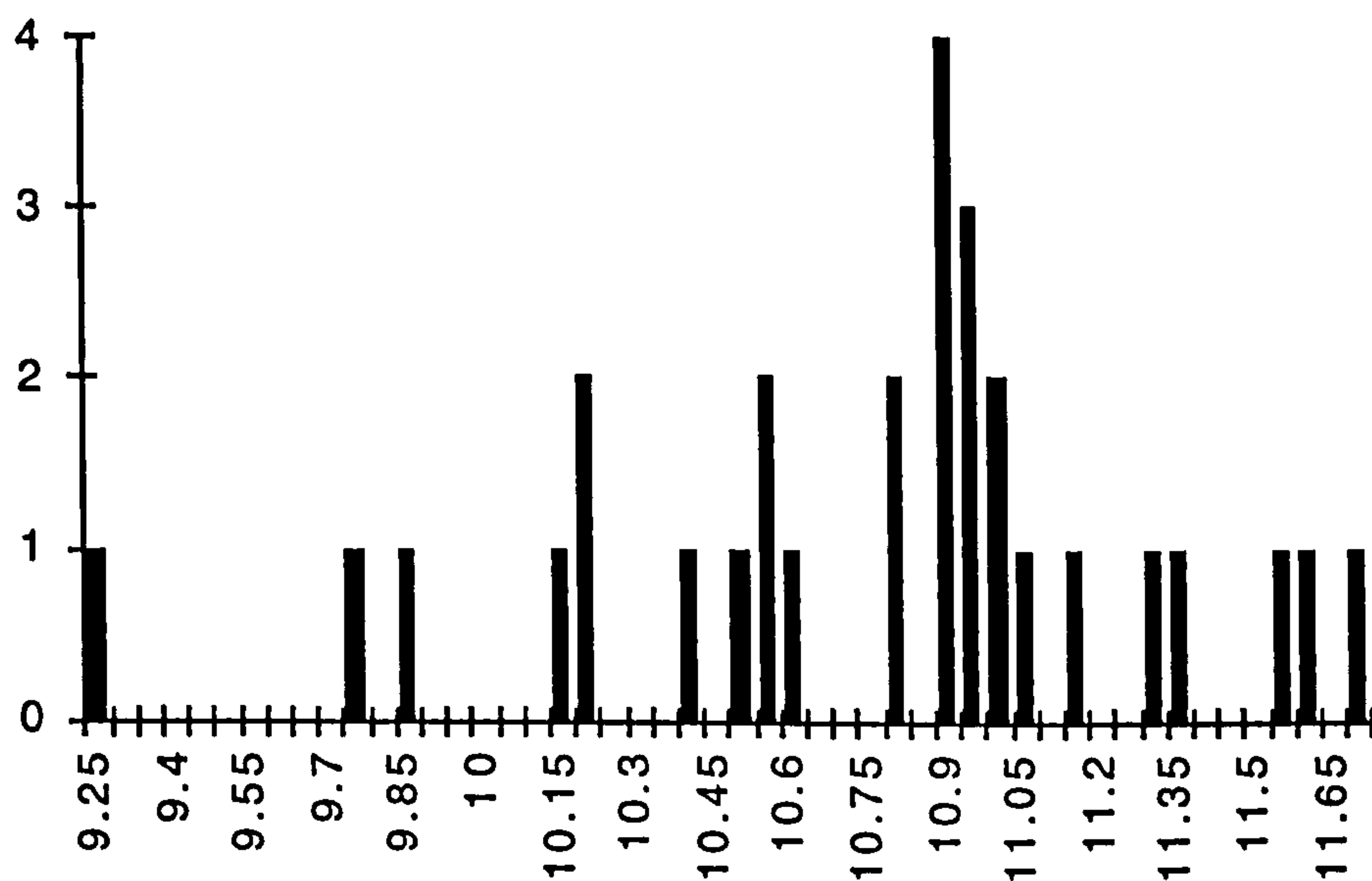


Chart 2.iv.12. Weights of Series D.IV-VII Staters

These staters weigh between 9.25 g. and 11.70 g., with a peak weight of approximately 10.95 g. The one extant third weighs 3.45 g.

Ki Ankh Stater: 11.11 g.

Ke Ankh Stater: 11.05 g.

Ko Ru Ankh

Staters: from 9.25 g. to 11.57 g.

Third: 3.58 g.

Sixths: 1.63 g. to 1.90 g.

D.VIII. Basi Eu

Those coins inscribed Basi Eu on the obverse and retaining the ankh reverse range in weight as follows:

Staters: 10.92 g., 11.03 g. and 11.34 g.

Thirds: 3.21 g. and 3.48 g.

Sixths: 1.40 g. and 1.67 g.

D.IX. Fractions

Those fractions with a ram's head left obverse and a simple ankh reverse range in weight as follows:

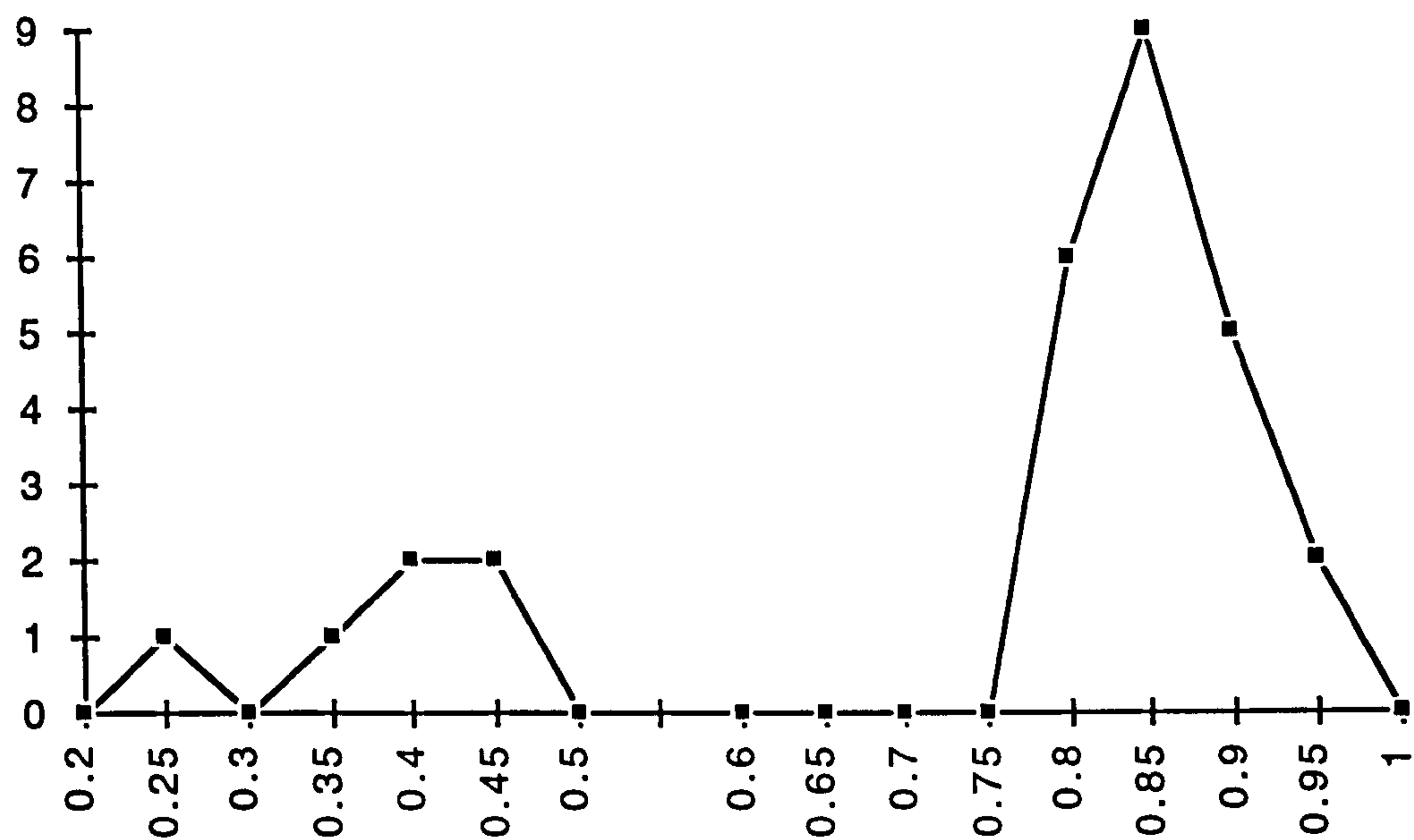


Chart 2.iv.13. Weights Series D.IX Fractions

As in the case of the Series B.II fractions, it is clear that we are dealing with two different fractional denominations under 1.00 g. As with the smooth reverse fractions, the peak at 0.85 g. represents 12ths while the small peak at 0.45 g. represents 24ths. Four other fractional pieces weighing between 0.23 g. and 0.38 g. are possible 48ths.

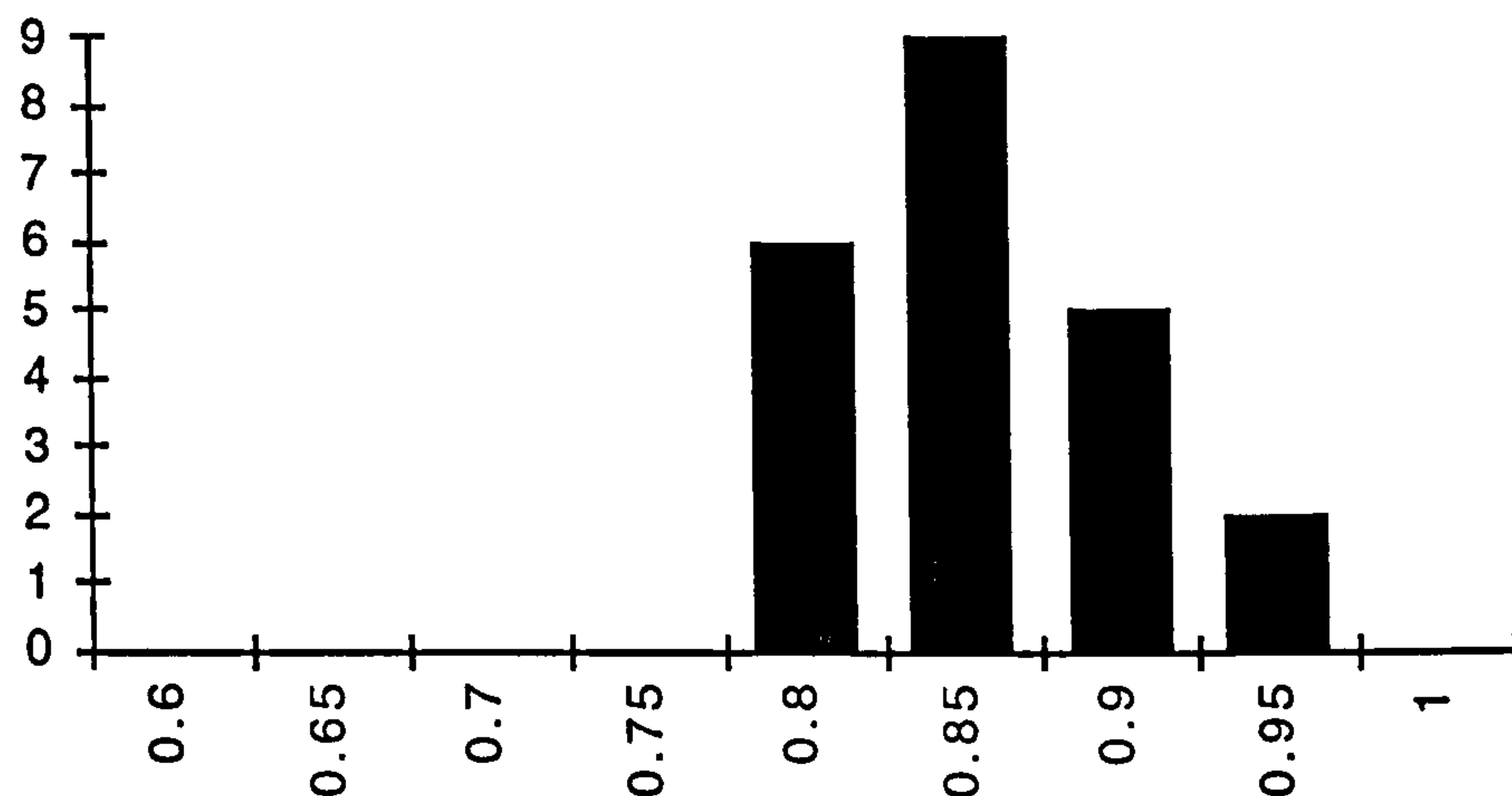


Chart 2.iv.14. Weights of Series D.IX 12ths

The extant 12ths in Group D weigh from 0.76 g. to 9.94 g., with a peak weight at 0.85 g.

The fractional issue with a blank centre to the ankh (D.IX.a) is represented by 12ths and 24ths, those with a *ba* centre reverse (D.IX.b) are represented by 12ths only, while those with a *ku* centre (D.IX.d) are represented by 12ths and 48ths.

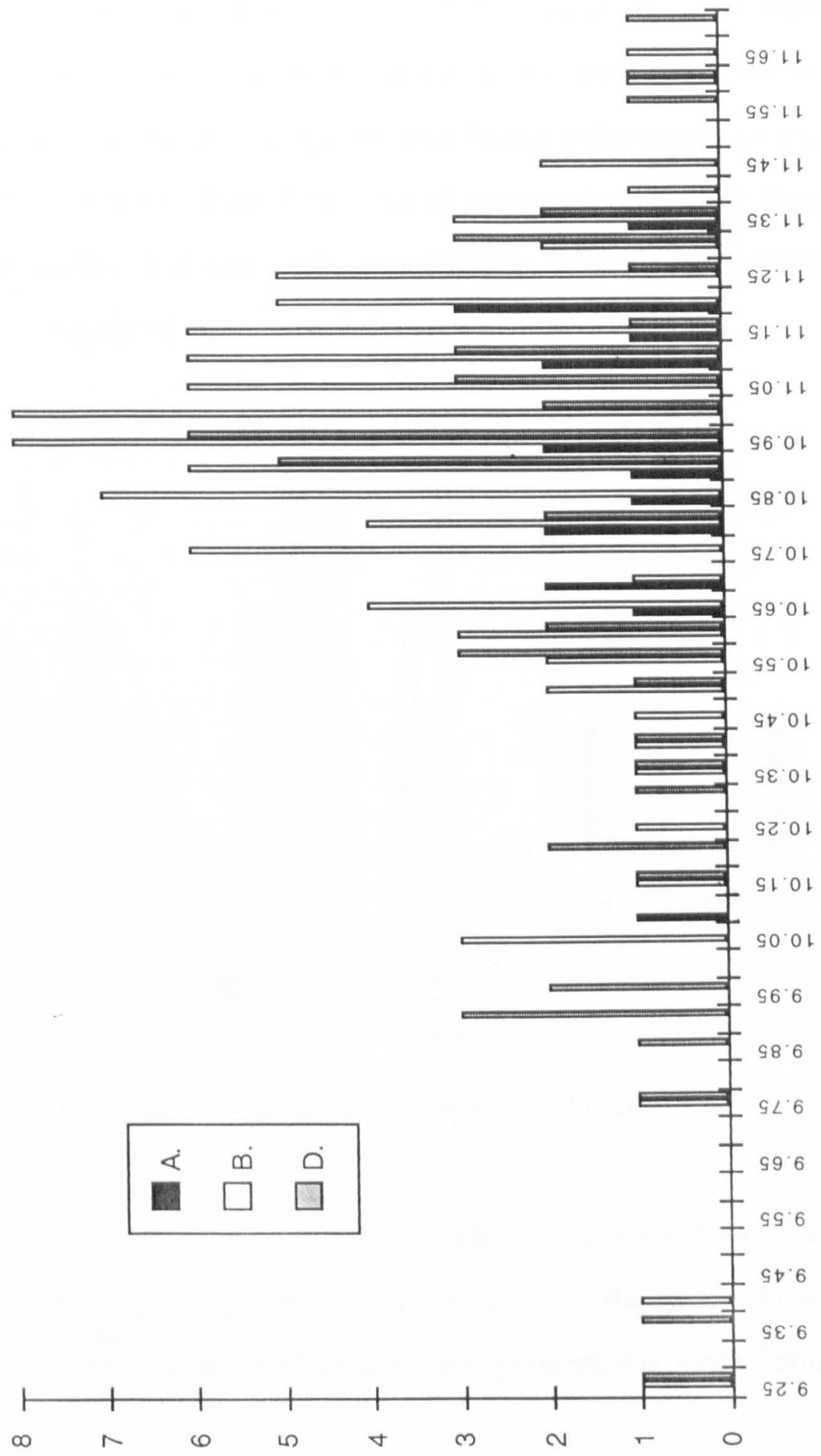


Chart 2.iv.15. Weights of Groups A-D Staters

Combined Uninscribed - and Inscribed King Evelthon

The weights of these early staters seem to be standard throughout with a pronounced peak at 10.95 g. (see Chart 2.iv.15, p. 107). Comparisons between the three main groups: A. Uninscribed, B. Evelthon Nominative/Smooth and D. Ankh Reverse, are risky as the second group is far better represented by existing specimens available for study. With this in mind, one may cautiously suggest a slight debasement. Group A shows a peak weight at 11.20 g., B a peak weight of 10.95 g - 11.00 g. and Group D, with an ankh reverse, peaks at 10.95 g.

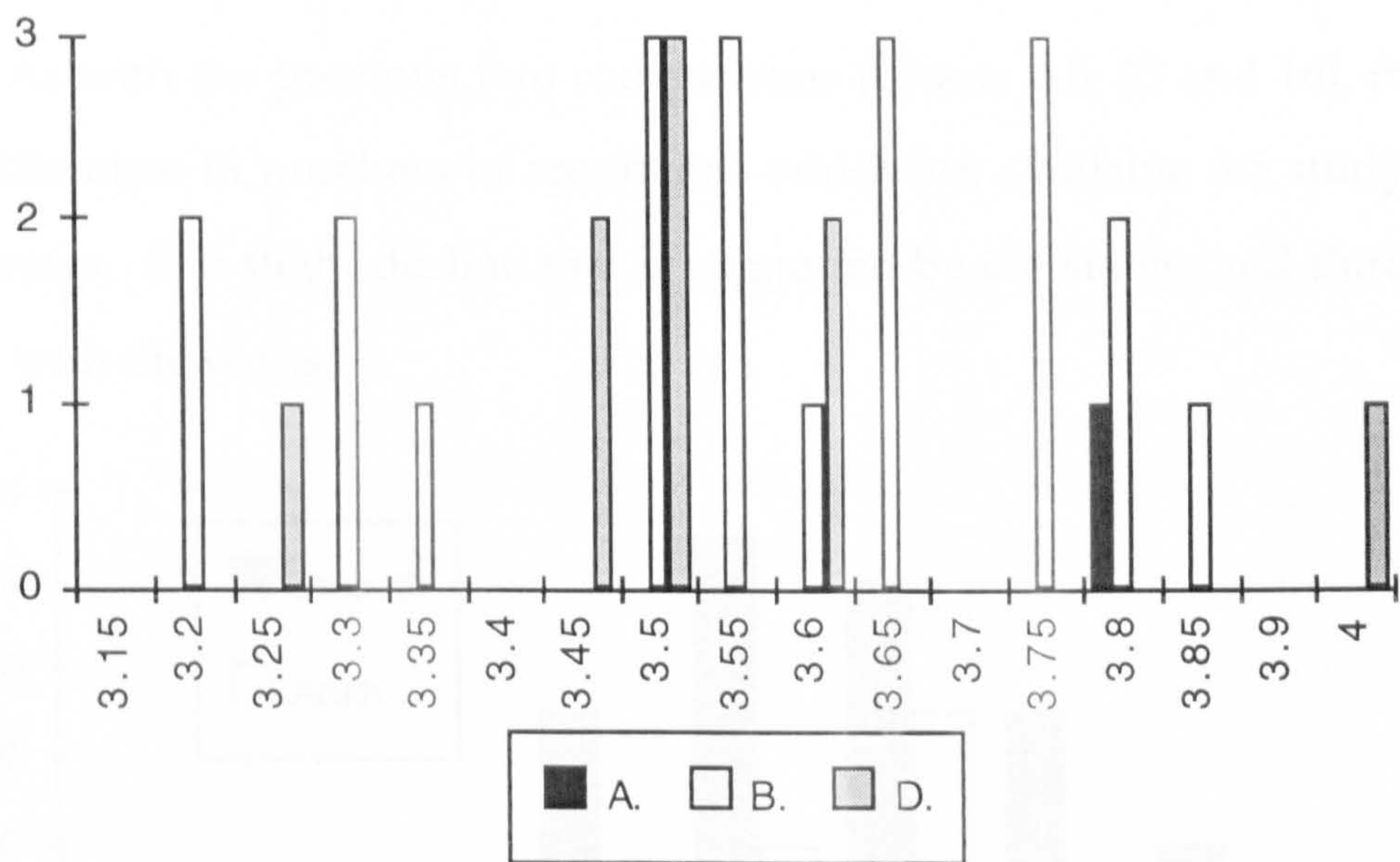


Chart 2.iv.16. Weights of Groups A-D Thirds

As the Group B. Nominative/Smooth thirds vastly outnumber the other groups, a comparison is again misleading. However, with the thirds, as with the staters, there seems to be a slight decline in weight progressing from Groups A - D.

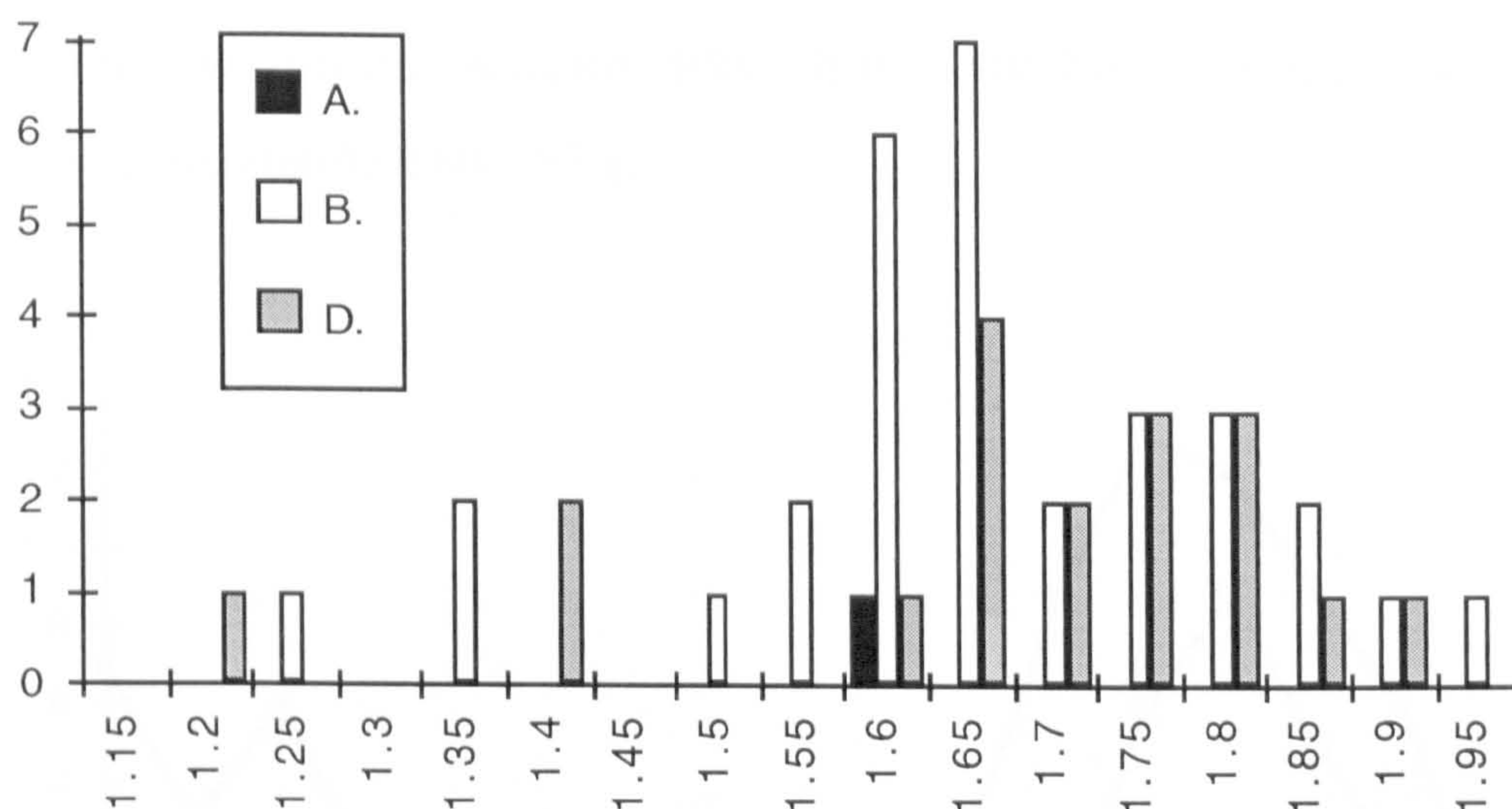


Chart 2.iv.17. Weights Groups A-D Sixths

As with the previous two comparisons (Charts 2.iv.15 and 16), there is a vast difference in numbers of specimens which are available for study within each group. The slight decline that is suggested by the staters and thirds is not visible with the sixths.

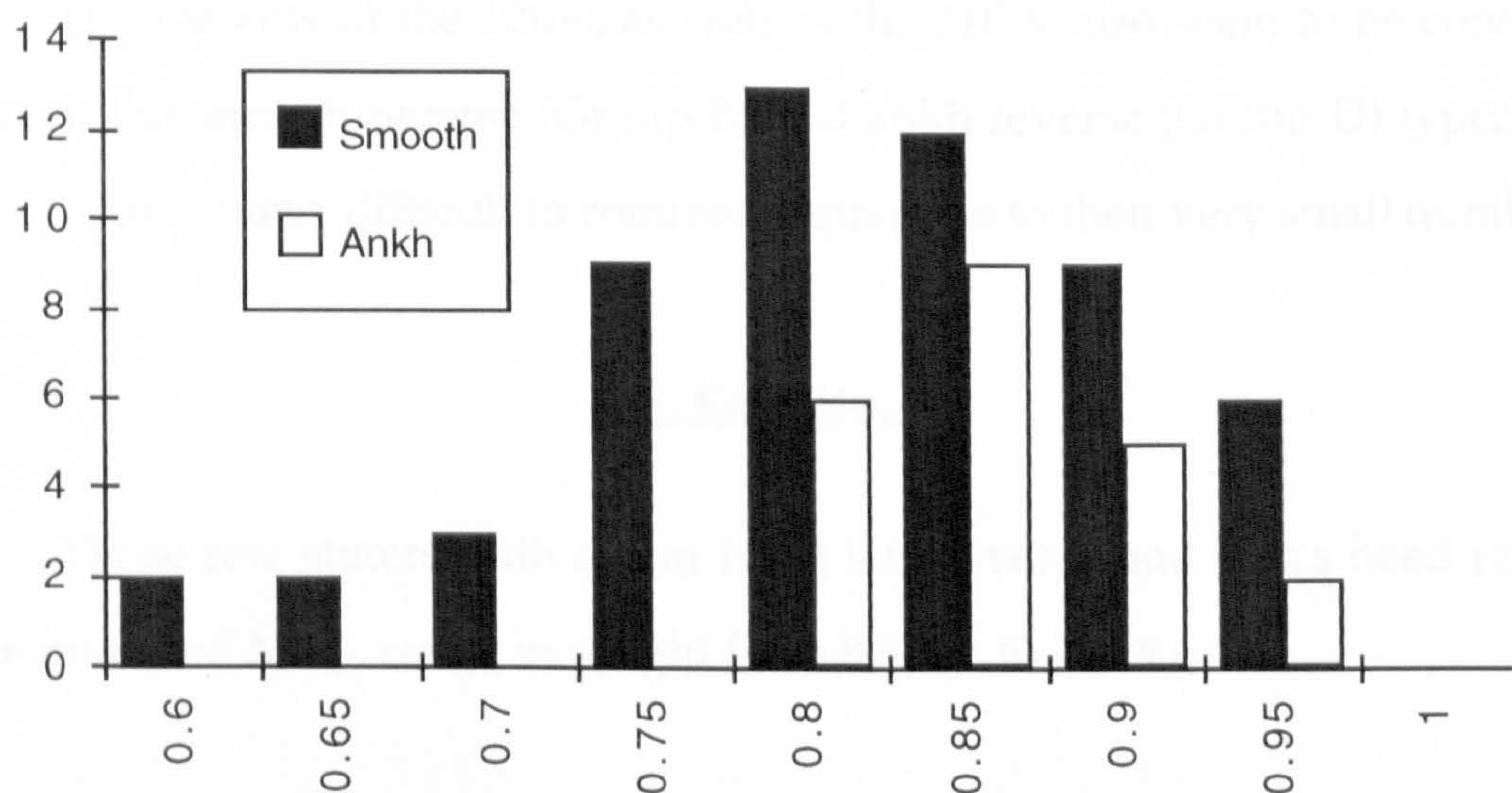


Chart 2.iv.18. Weights of Groups B (Smooth) and D (Ankh) 12ths

As the smooth reverse 12ths are far better represented a comparison between the two groups is again risky. It is likely, however, that both groups peak at approximately 0.80-0.85 g.

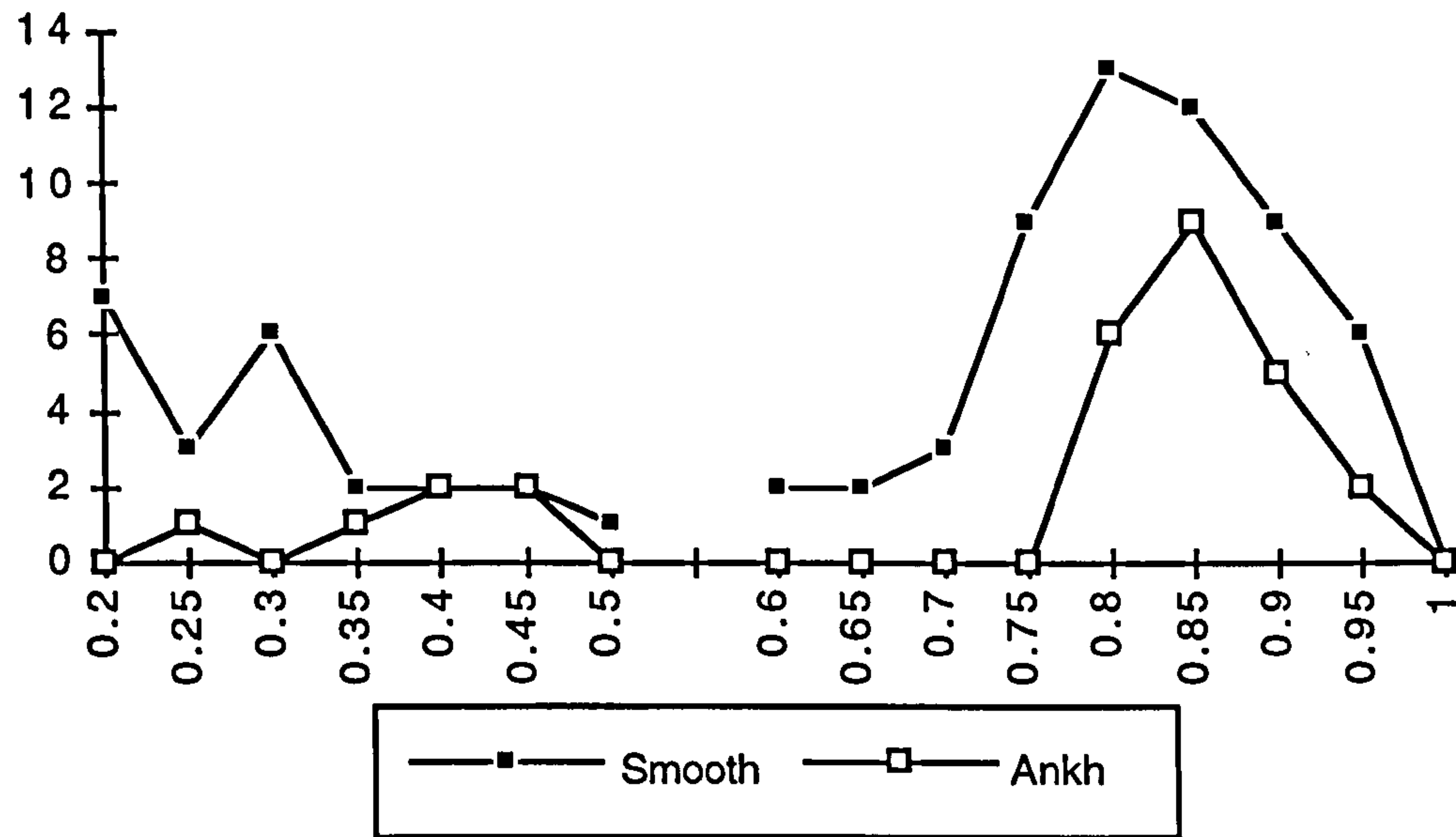


Chart 2.iv.19. Weights of Group B (Smooth) and D (Ankh) Fractions

The weights of the 12ths, as well as the 24ths, also seem to be consistent between the smooth reverse (Group B) and ankh reverse (Group D) types. The 48ths, are of course, difficult to comment upon due to their very small number.

E. King Mo...

Those few staters with a ram lying left obverse and ram's head reverse, some inscribed Mo..., range in weight from 8.56 g. to 10.98 g.

King Phausis

Those coins inscribed with the name of King Phausis range in weight as follows:

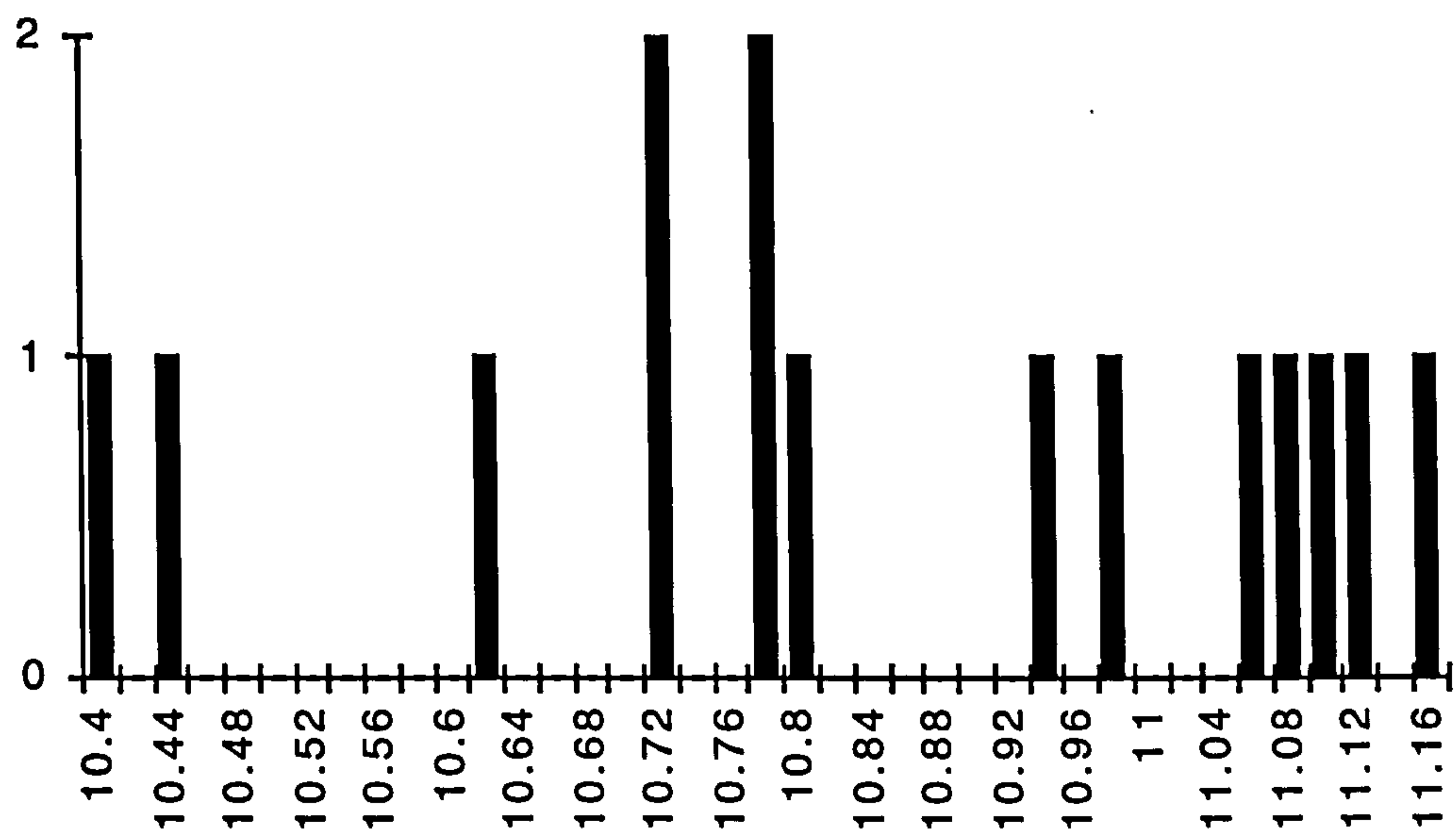


Chart 2.iv.21. Weights of Group F Staters

The Staters of King Phausis (Group F) range from 8.98 g. (left off the chart) to 11.16 g., exhibiting peak weights at 10.72 and 10.78 g.

The four extant sixths weigh 1.62, 1.63, 1.77 and 1.79 g.

I. King Nikodamos

Those coins inscribed with the name of King Nikodamos range in weight as follows:

The two whole extant staters weigh 11.05 and 11.08 g.

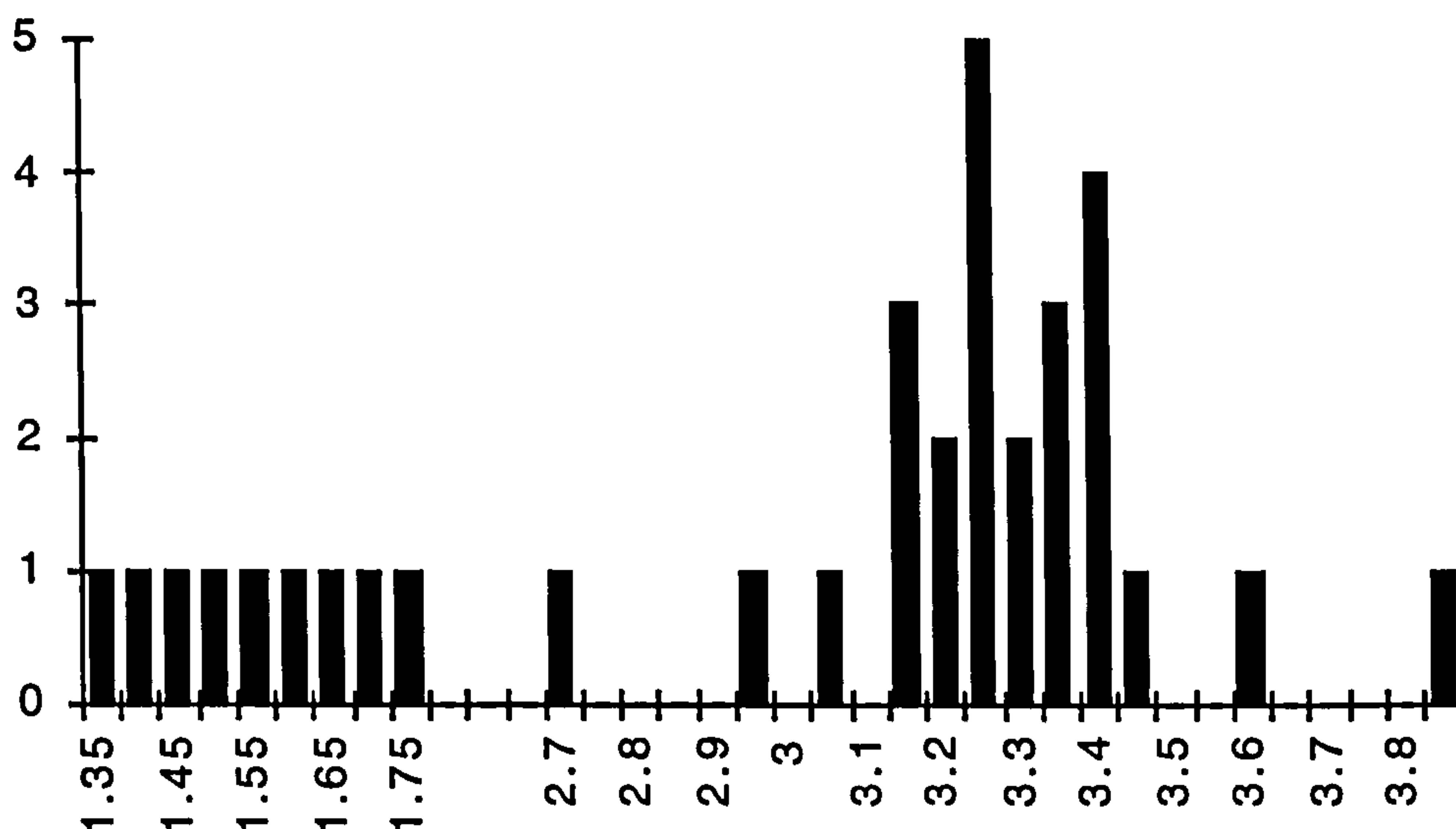


Chart 2.iv.22. Weights of Group I Thirds and Sixths

The thirds of King Nikodamos weigh from 2.70 g. to 3.82 g., with a peak weight at 3.25 g. The sixths weigh from 1.33 g. to 1.73 g., averaging 1.55 g.

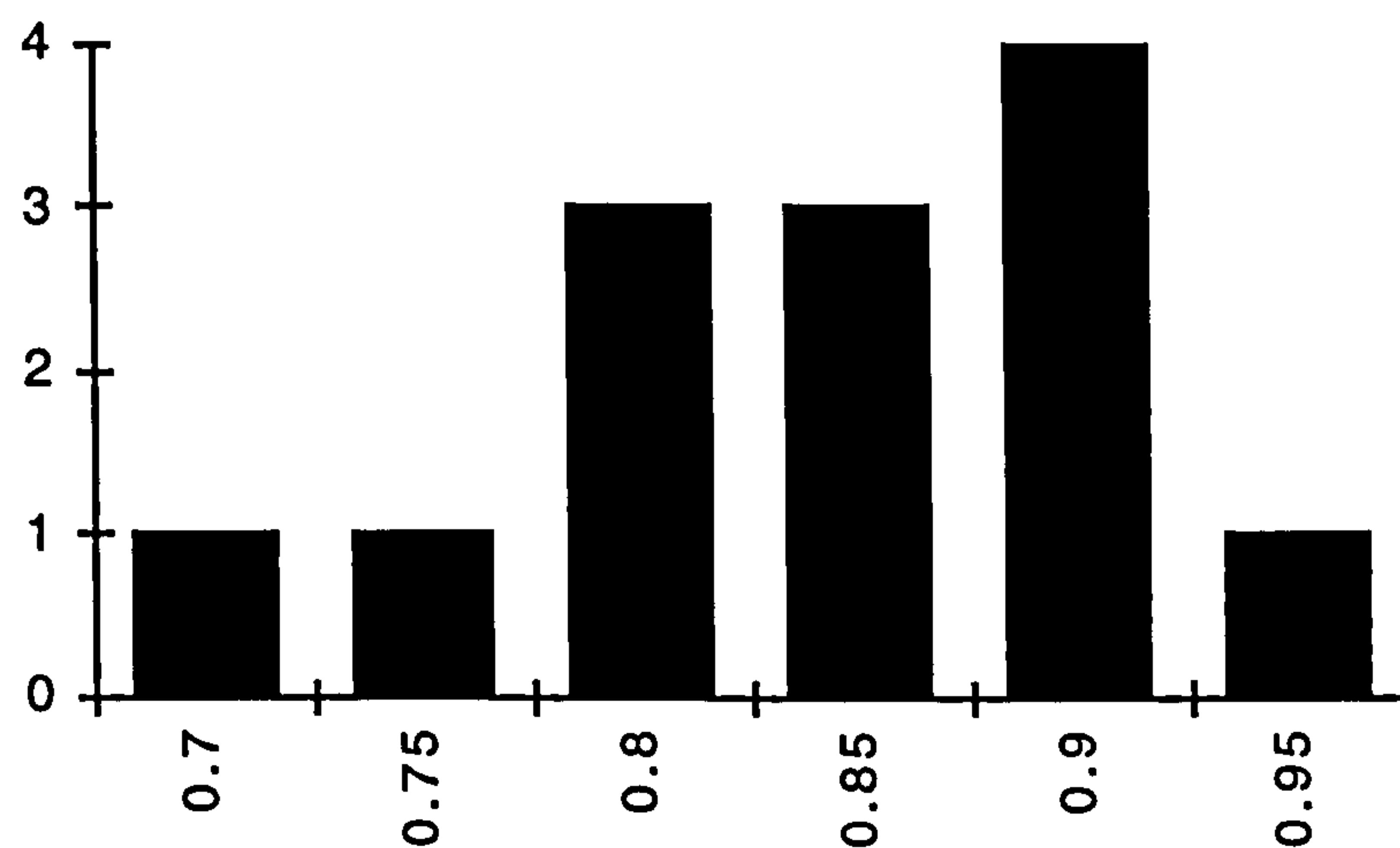


Chart 2.iv.23. Weights of Group I 12ths

The fractions of King Nikodamos weigh between 0.66 g. and 0.95 g., with a peak weight of 0.90 g.; thus the denomination is a twelfth of a stater.

I. King Evanthes

Those coins inscribed with the name of King Evanthes range in weight as follows:

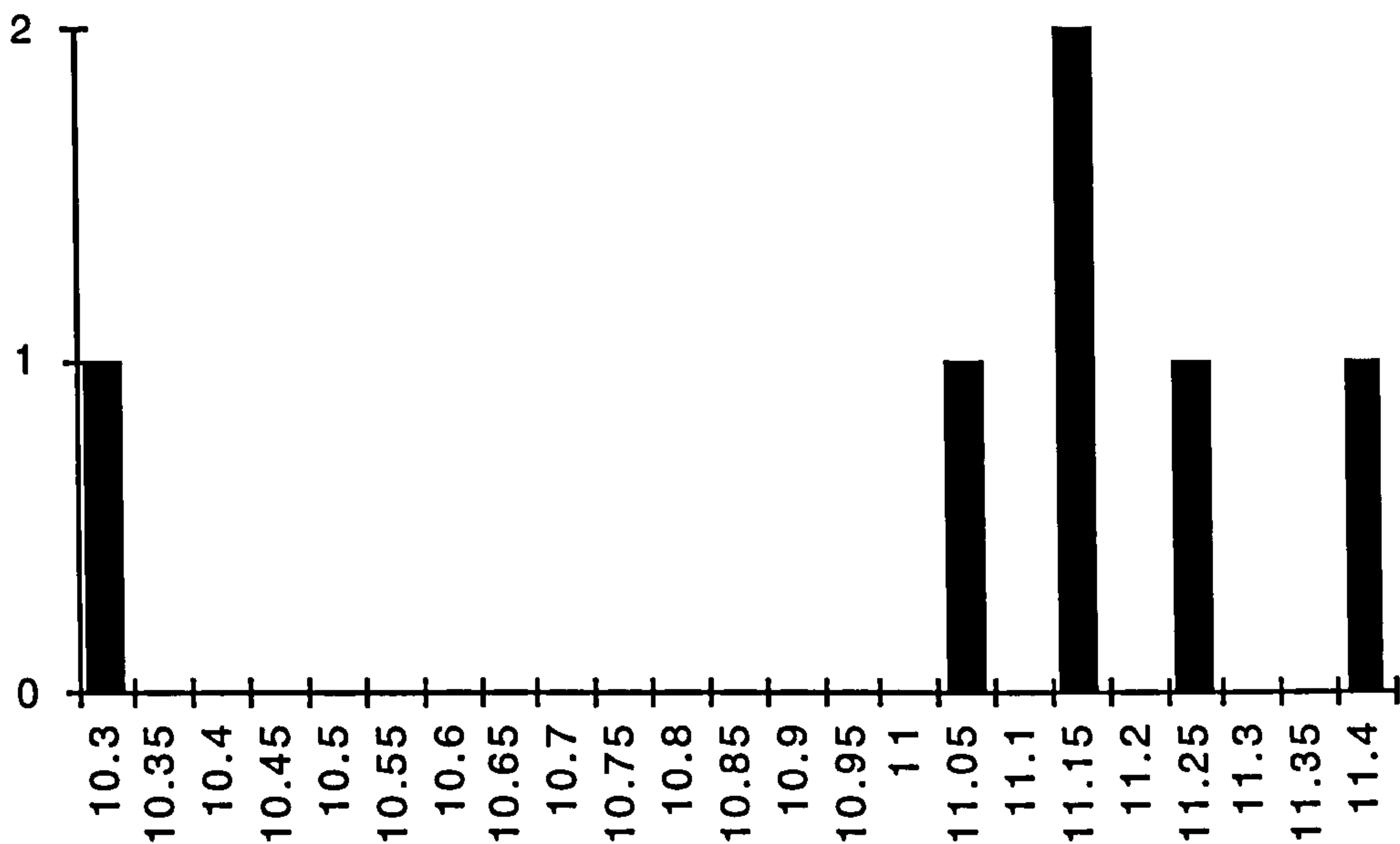


Chart 2.iv.24. Weights of Group J Staters

The staters of King Evanthes range in weight from 9.90 g. (lightest omitted from chart) to 11.37 g. with a peak weight at 11.15 g.

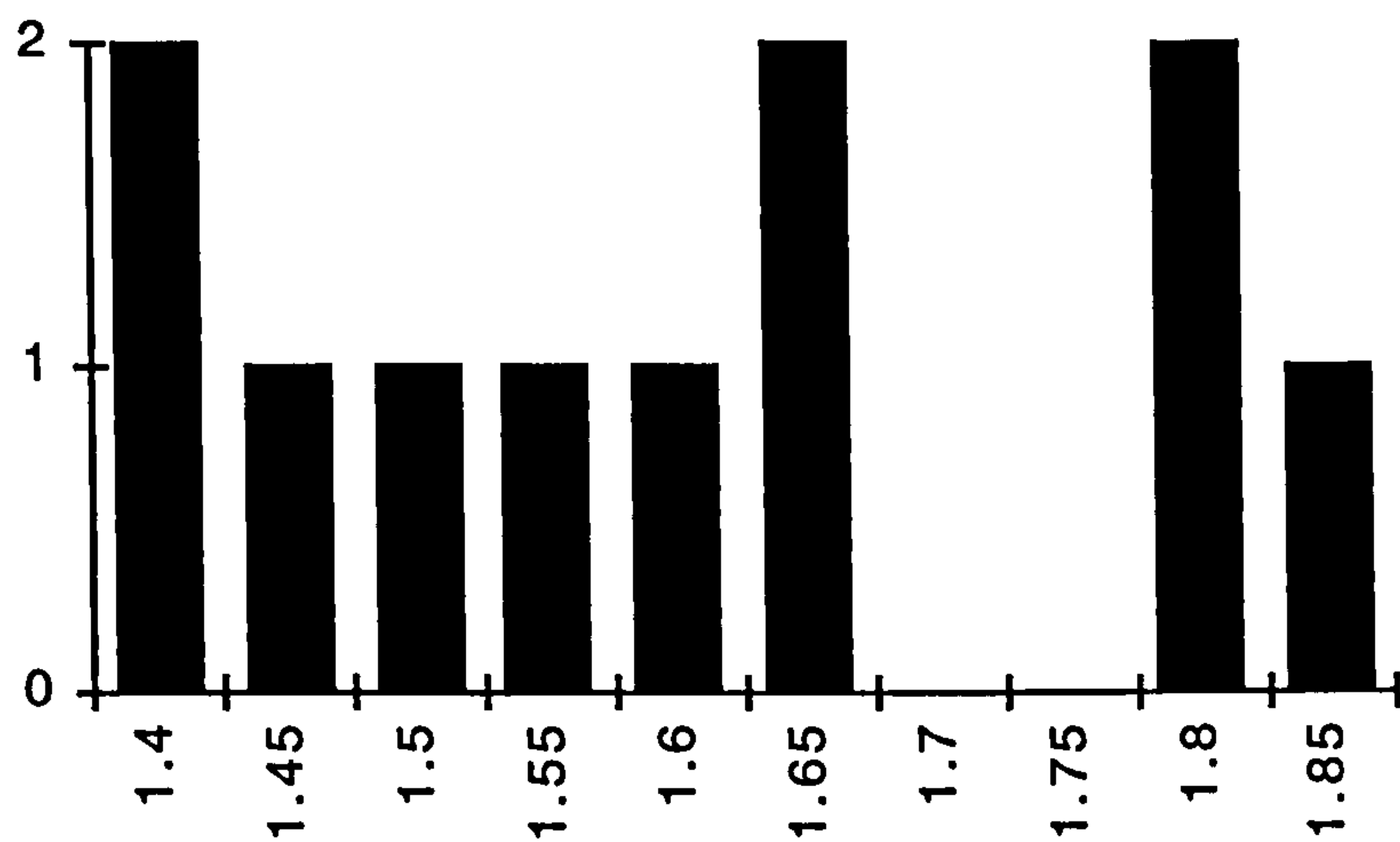


Chart 2.iv.25. Weights of Group J Sixths

The sixths of King Evanthes range from 1.36 g. and 1.81 g.

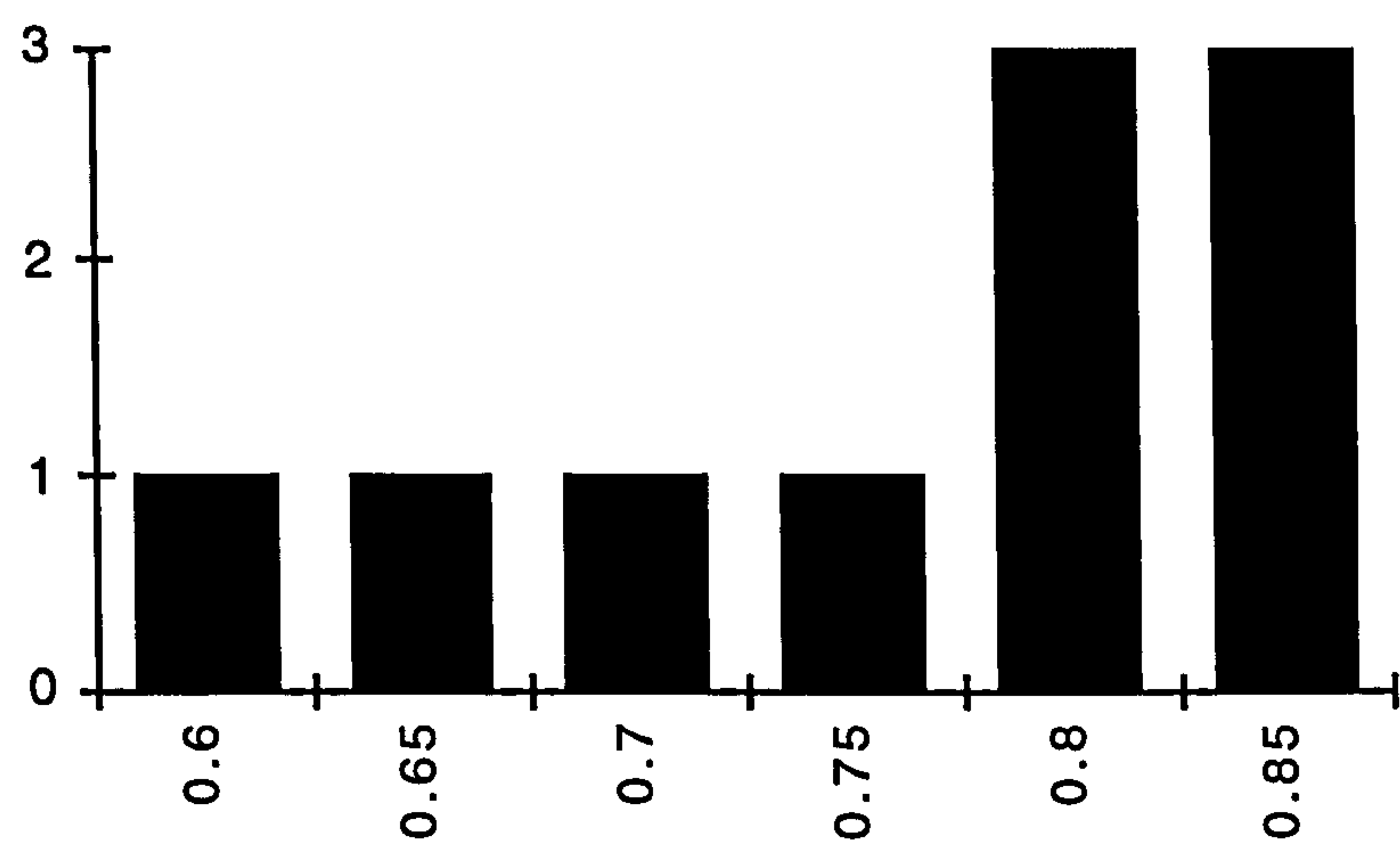


Chart 2.iv.26. Weights Group J 12ths

Fractions of King Evanthes range between 0.23 g. and 0.83 g., with two peak weights of 0.25 g. (possible 48th of a stater) and 0.80-0.85 g. (possible 12th of a stater).

Combined Charts:

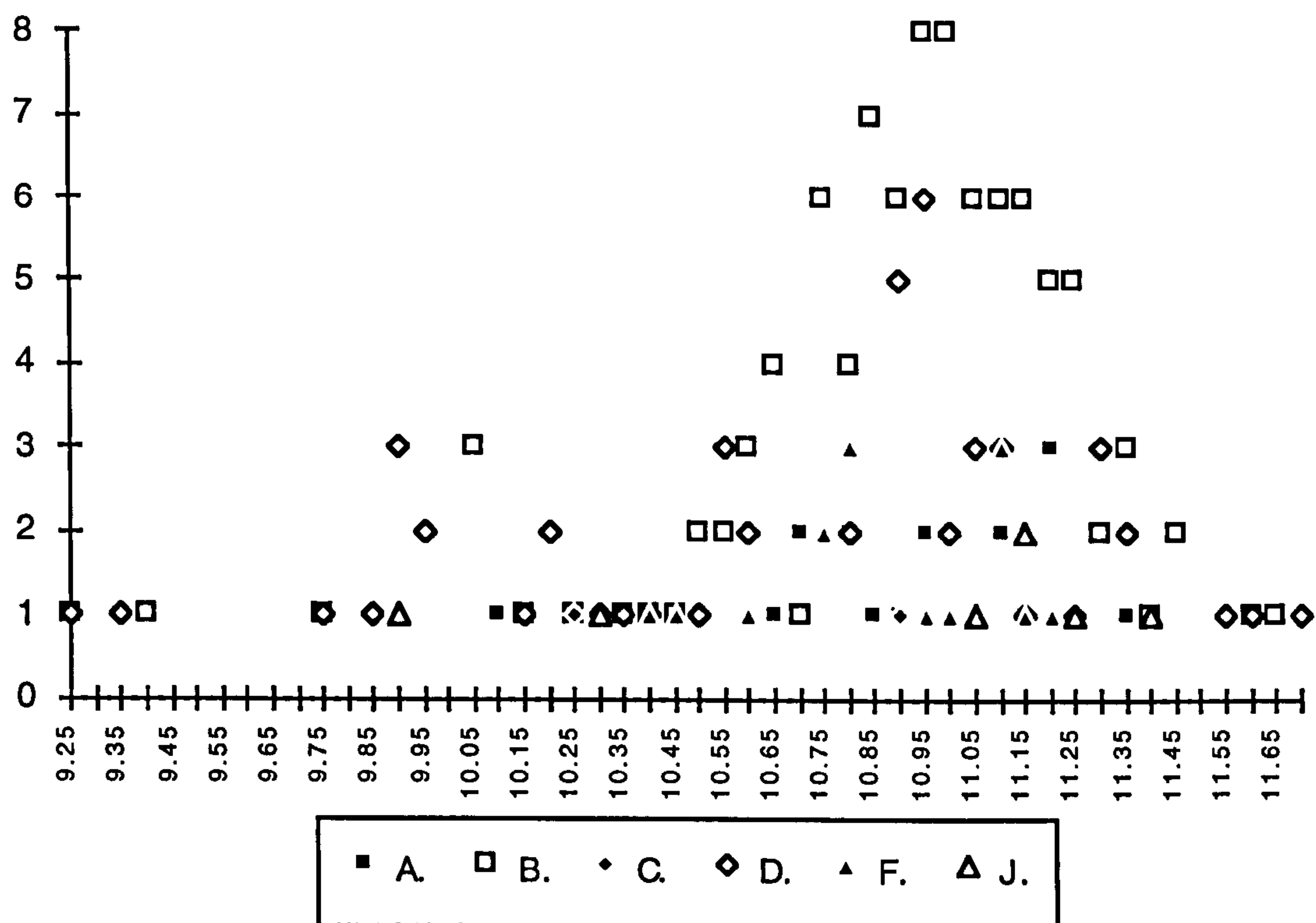


Chart 2.iv.27. Weights Groups A, B, C, D, F and J Staters

As stated above, with regard to the earliest groups of staters, comparisons between issuing authorities must be considered dangerous as a few series are much better represented than others. With this in mind, late sixth - fifth century staters peak in weight as follows:

A. Uninscribed:	11.20 g.
B. King Evelthon	
I. Nominative/Smooth:	11.00 g.
C. King ..noki..:	10.75 g.
D. King Evelthon and/or Successors	
II. Nominative/Ankh:	11.10 g.
IV-VII. Genitive/Ankh:	10.95 g.

E. King Mo...:	10.85 g. (specimens are very worn)
F. King Phausis:	10.78 g.
I. King Nikodamos:	11.08 g.
J. King Evanthes:	11.15 g.

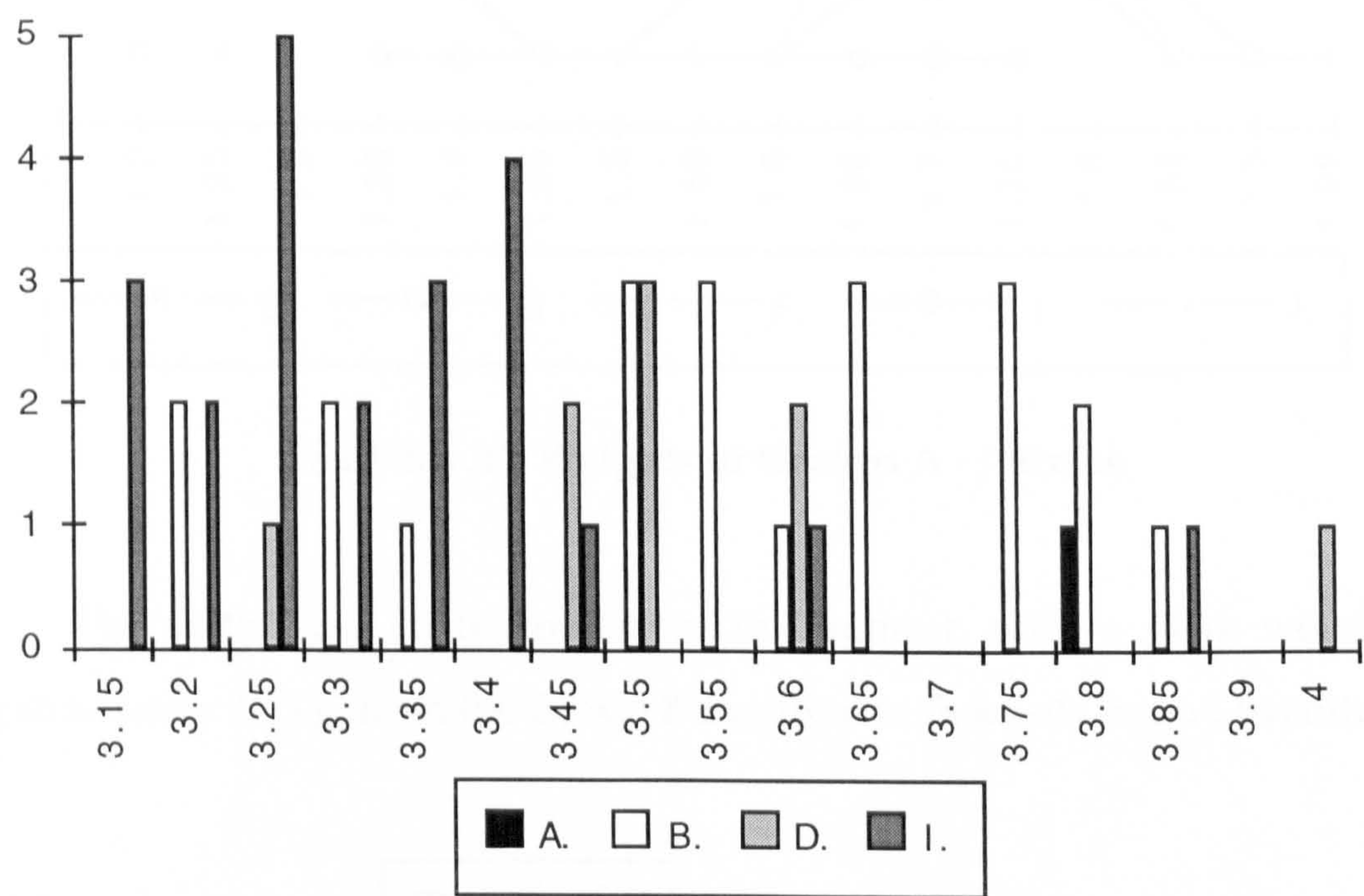


Chart 2.iv.28. Weights of Groups A, B, D and I Thirds

A comparison of the thirds shows a much more marked decline in weight between Group A (Uninscribed) at 3.80 g. and Group I (Nikodamos) at 3.25 g.

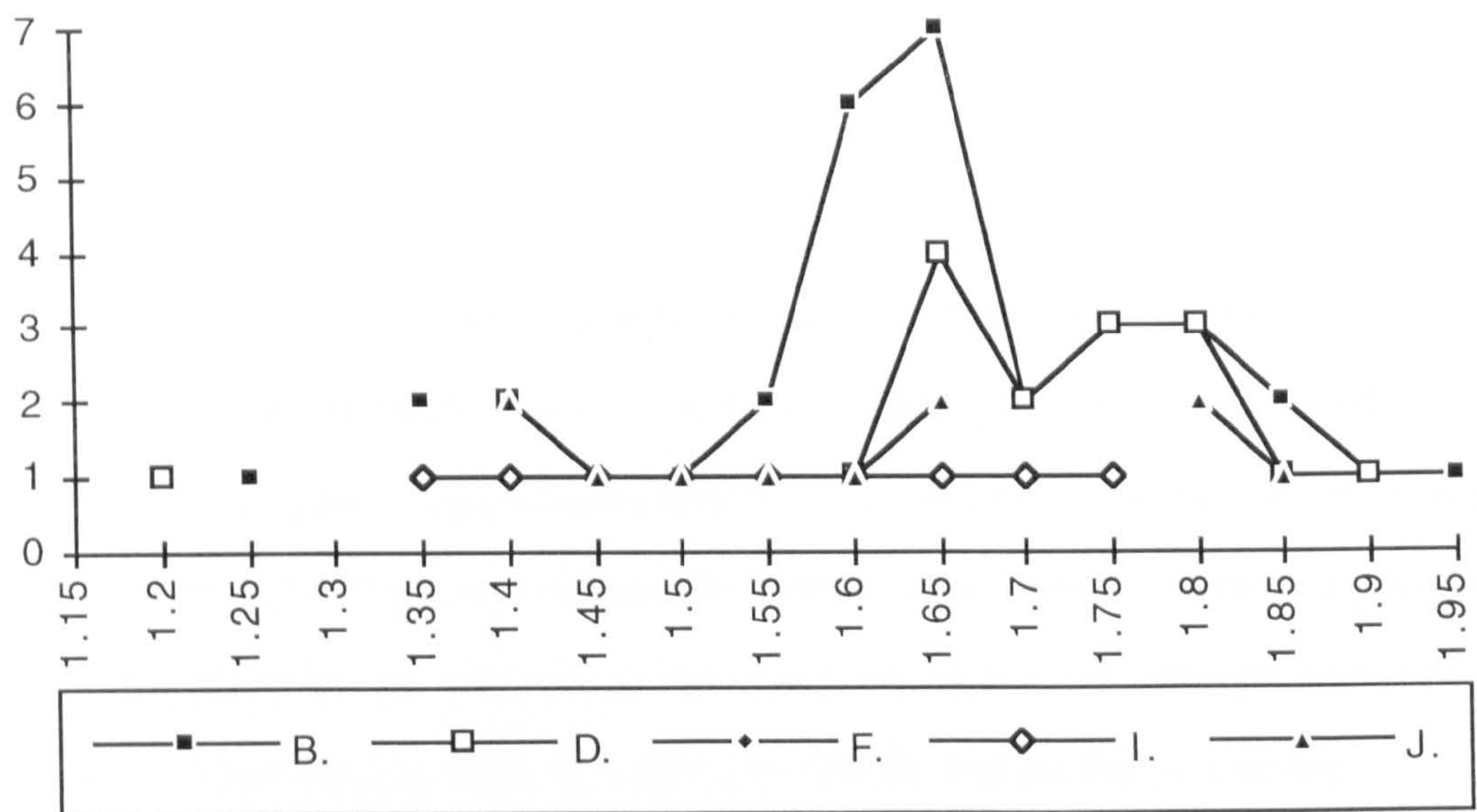


Chart 2.iv.29. Weights of Groups A - J Sixths

The sixths are fairly consistent throughout, with a peak weight at approximately 1.65 g. from the Group B Evelthon to those of Group J Evanthes.

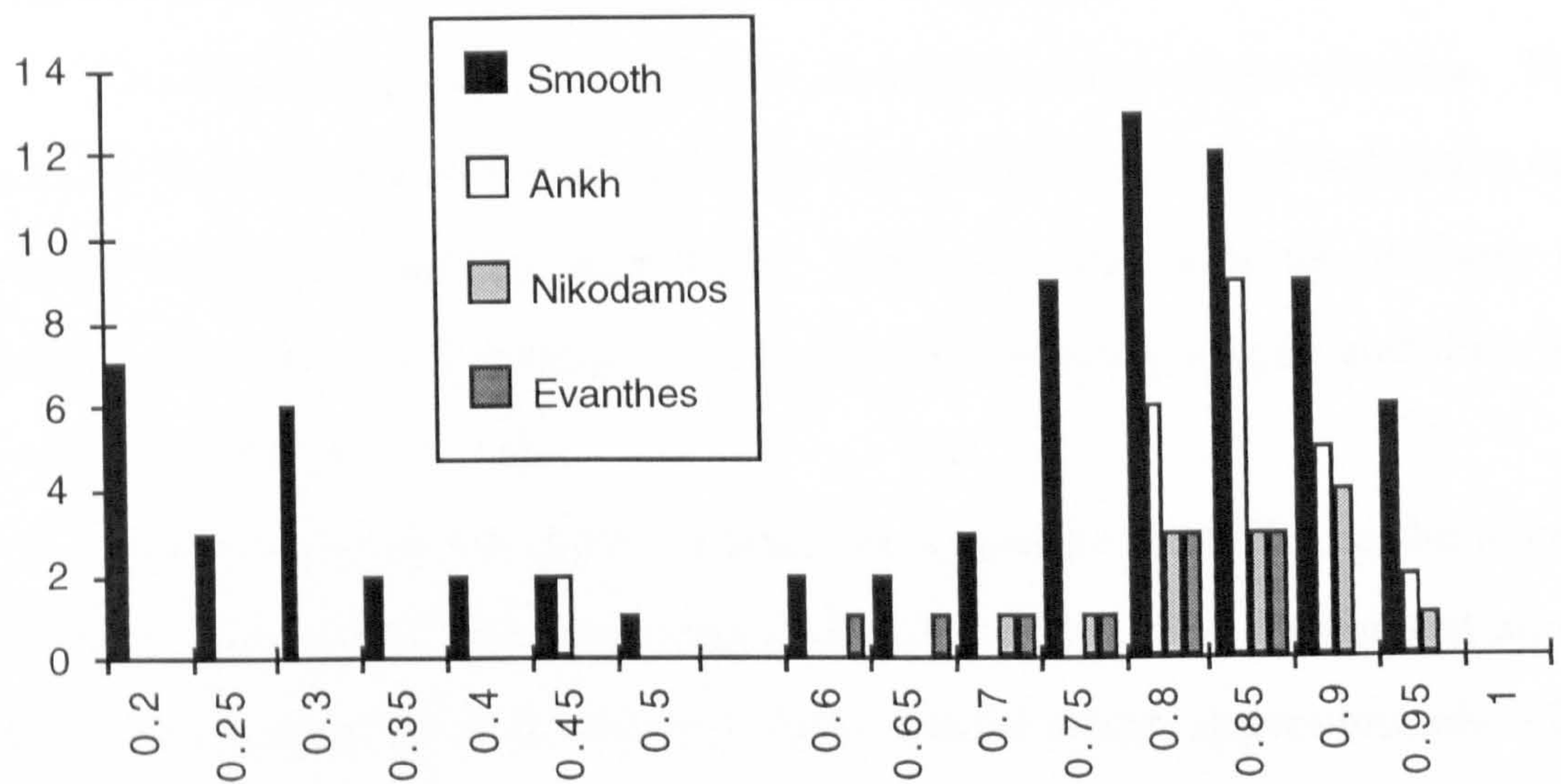


Chart 2.iv.30. Weights of Groups B (Smooth), D (Ankh),
I (Nikodamos) and J (Evanthes) Fractions

The smaller denominations, like the sixths, show a great deal of consistency throughout.

Discussion

During the late sixth and throughout the fifth century, the peak weight of the stater is approximately 11.00 g. A third of this weight is 3.66 g. and our thirds have a peak weight of approximately 3.50 g. which is not far off the target. A sixth of 11.00 g. is 1.83 g. and again, the sixths chart clearly exhibits a peak at 1.66 g. Overall the data on these three denominations is very straight-forward: there is no doubt that we are dealing with both thirds and sixths of a stater.

The smaller denominations are where some confusion begins. During this period, it seems that two, or possibly three such denominations were produced. The heavier variety has an average weight of approximately 0.85 g. and could easily be labelled a twelfth of a stater (11.00 g. stater: 12th = 0.92 g.). A twelfth would not be an uncommon denomination for the Persian standard or the Greek system as a whole as it is roughly equivalent to an obol.

The lighter variety of fraction is, however, much more obscure. First, there are far fewer examples available for study, and thus a clear indication of an average weight is almost impossible. Secondly, the weights of these few examples not only vary widely, but these coins are quite fragile and thus have incurred a great deal of wear.

Hill referred to this lighter variety as a quarter obol.¹¹⁹ As the average weight of those compiled is approximately 0.20 - 0.25 g., this assessment may be correct as a quarter obol or 48th of a stater should weigh approximately 0.23 g. compared to the larger denominations.

¹¹⁹ BMC, p. 47.

A third denomination is even more obscure than the 48th, but some evidence for a third denomination does exist. It is likely that these coins are 24ths of a stater weighing approximately 0.45 g.

2.v. Hoard Evidence

The following hoards are known to contain sixth and fifth century coins of Salamis:

H.1. Ras Shamra Hoard¹²⁰

Provenance: Seleucia, earlier Ugarit, Syria

Find date: 1936

Burial date: c. 510-500 (*Asyut*), c. 525-520 (*IGCH*)

Contents: 39 AR and ingots, excavated and found in vase

Disposition: Some pieces in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Number of Salamis specimens: 6

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series I. Staters, *obv.*: nominative case; *rev.*: smooth

nos. 27, 27a and 27b: o4-r4; no. 41a: o16; no. 59: o34; frag.; no.

89: TW

Other Cypriot mints: none.

Non-Cypriot mints: 4 Stagira, 1 Abdera (*Asyut*: c. 530), 12 'Lete' (*Asyut*: second half of sixth), 15 Thraco-Macedonian.

¹²⁰ Noe 851; Schaeffer, pp. 461 ff.; W. Schwabacher, 'Geldumlauf und Münzprägung in Syrien im 6. und 5. Jahrh. V. Chr.', *Opus. Arch.* 6 (1950), pp. 141 ff.; Schlumberger, p. 10, no. 21; Kraay 1956, p. 48, points out that there are no Athenian coins in this hoard, and that they are rare in eastern hoards before c. 500. He also argues that this hoard is perhaps a single consignment brought east by a Thasian trader.; *IGCH* 1478; Vlamis 1973, p. 62; Vlamis 1974, p. 74, V/NR.106; *Asyut*, p. 17, points out that this is the earliest hoard to contain Thraco-Macedonian material and that the coin of Abdera is contemporary with that in the NE Persepolis deposit; Stucky, pp. 5-25.

H.2. Demanhur¹²¹

Provenance: earlier Dime-n-Hor, Egypt

Find date: 1900/01

Burial date: c. 500

Contents: 165 AR, 2 ingots

Disposition: Berlin

Number of Salamis specimens: 4

Group A. Uninscribed:

Staters, *obv.*: uninscribed; *rev.*: smooth

no. 14: NAS; no. 15: NAS; no. 16: NAS; no. 17: NAS, frag.¹²²

Other Cypriot mints:

Lapethus: 1 stater

Uncertain king, late sixth century¹²³

obv.: female head; *rev.*: Herakles advancing r.

Uncertain: 5 staters, 4 fragments.

Uncertain king: 1 stater (Dressel & Regling, no. 133)

obv.: lion forepart r.; *rev.*: irregular incuse square.

Uncertain: 1 stater (Dressel & Regling, no. 124¹²⁴)

obv.: four-winged Gorgon facing, below: snakes?; *rev.*: man-headed? winged-bull forepart r.

¹²¹ Dressel & Regling, p. 73, nos. 126-129; Noe 323; Schlumberger, p. 10, no. 28; Kraay 1956, p. 48; *IGCH* 1637; Vlamis 1980, p. 81, CNR/172.

¹²² Details of this coin are unknown. It is only assumed that it is uninscribed, as are the other specimens in the hoard.

¹²³ This type is also seen in the Persepolis Deposit, c. 515.

¹²⁴ Attributed to Lycia.

Non-Cypriot mints: 17 unc. Thraco-Macedonian, 17 'Lete', 12 Thasos, 7 Abdera, 3 Dicaea in Macedonia, 4 Neapolis, 1 Scione, 1 Stagira; 16 early Aegina; 6 early Corinth; 1 Delos, 2 Naxos, 4 Paros; 19 Miletus, 1 Teos, 5 Chios, 3 Samos, 1 Cos, 1 Caria, 1 Ialysus, 1 Sardis - Croesus; 7 Lycian dynasts, 1 Phaselis; 1 Barce, 1 Cyrene; 18 Uncertain.

H.3. Adana¹²⁵

Provenance: near Adana, Cilicia

Find date: c. 1971

Burial date: c. 500

Contents: 10+ AR

Disposition: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (majority)

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series I. Stater, *obv.*: nominative; *rev.*: smooth

no. 76¹²⁶; o51

Other Cypriot mints:

Uncertain mints:

Uncertain king. 1 stater (Robinson 1973, p. 235, no. 8¹²⁷)

obv.: lion head r.; *rev.*: irregular incuse square.

King Pio... (or Opi....). 1 stater (Robinson 1973, p. 235, no. 9)

obv.: boar forepart l. with lion forepart superimposed; *rev.* winged solar disc,

above: female head?, corners: *ba-si pi-o*.

¹²⁵ Robinson 1973, pp. 229-237; CH I, 4.

¹²⁶ Kagan, p. 44 suggests that this coin is of the lion lying/smooth reverse variety tentatively attributed to Citium. This is, however, not the case as the obverse clearly shows the strong front shoulder of the lying ram types of Salamis.

¹²⁷ Robinson wrongly attributed to Lycia. Corrected by Kagan, pp. 32-33.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 'Lete', 2 Myrkinos?, 1 Dicaea in Macedonia; 1 Asia Minor; 1 Lycia.

H.4. Asia Minor¹²⁸

Provenance: Asia Minor

Find date: 1989

Burial date: no later than 500

Contents: 68+ AR, 2 fibulae, ingots

Disposition: Cyprus Museum, Jacksonville, North Carolina, USA

Number of Salamis specimens: 12

Group A. Uninscribed:

Staters, *obv.*: uninscribed; *rev.*: smooth

nos. 1-9: o1-o9; all test cut with some possible overstrikes

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series I. Staters, *obv.*: nominative case; *rev.*: smooth

nos. 74: o49, test cut; nos. 45 and 45a: o20, test cut

Other Cypriot mints:

Citium?: 2 staters

Uncertain king, late sixth century¹²⁹ (as *BMC* p. 3, no. 1, 'c. 500' and p. xxix; Kagan, nos. 40 & 41)

obv.: lion lying l.; *rev.*: smooth.

Paphos: 1 stater

¹²⁸ Kagan, pp. 17-52. Kagan admits (p. 17) that this hoard could also be from the Levant or Egypt; *CH* VIII, no. 19.

¹²⁹ The date of late sixth century is contrary to Destrooper-Georgiades' 1984 date of the beginning of the fifth century. These coins are clearly earlier: Kagan, p. 28.

Uncertain king, late sixth century (Kagan, p. 28, no. 42)¹³⁰

obv.: bull kneeling or running, above: *ba*; *rev.*: eagle's head l.?

Uncertain mints:

King Ta....? 2 staters (Kagan, p. 32, nos. 55 a & b)

obv.: lion forepart r., on shoulder: *ba ta*; *rev.*: incuse square.

Uncertain king. 2 staters (Kagan, p. 33, nos. 56 & 57)

obv.: lion head r.; *rev.*: irregular incuse square.

Uncertain king. 5 staters (Kagan, p. 33, nos. 58-62)¹³¹

obv.: lion head r.; *rev.*: shallow incuse square.

King Pio... (or Opi....). 2 staters (Kagan, p. 34, nos. 63 & 64)

see Adana Hoard (H.3)

Uncertain king. 2 staters (Kagan, p. 36, nos. 65 & 66)

obv.: winged gorgon facing, below: snakes?; *rev.*: forepart of man-headed?

winged bull r.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Abdera, 1 Dicaea in Macedonia, 4 Thasos, 1 Stagira, 3 'Lete',
2 uncertain Thraco-Macedonian, 1 uncertain; 6 Aegina; 1 Andros?, 1
Naxos; 1 Ialysus, 1 Lindos, 1 Lydia-Sardis (Croeseid); 12 Lycia, 1 Lycia?; 1
Phaselis.

¹³⁰ A similar, if not later, issue was found in the SE Persepolis Deposit.

¹³¹ Number 62 is 'perhaps' overstruck on a stater of Salamis according to Kagan p. 33; this is important since these are obviously early issues of this series on account of the lack of reverse type.

H.5. Myt Rahineh¹³²

Provenance: Myt-Rahineh, near Memphis, Egypt

Find date: 1860

Burial date: c. 500¹³³

Contents: 23+ AR

Disposition: unknown

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series I. Staters, *obv.*: nominative case; *rev.*: smooth

no. 85: TW

Other Cypriot mints: none.

Non-Cypriot mints: 2 unc. Thraco-Macedonian, 1 'Lete', 1 Abdera; 1 early Aegina;
4 early Corinth; 2 Naxos, 1 Paros; 1 Chios, 1 Cos, 2 Caria; 2 Cyrene; 4
Uncertain.

¹³² de Longpèrier, pp. 407-428; Dressel, pp. 254-255; Kraay 1956, p. 48; *IGCH* 1636; Schlumberger, p. 10, no. 34; Price, *CH* III, pp. 6-8; Vlamis 1980, p. 81, CNR/176.

¹³³ *IGCH* and Price, *CH* III, p. 8.

H.6. Egypt¹³⁴

Provenance: Egypt

Find date: 1971/1972

Burial date: c. 500

Contents: 14+ AR

Disposition: 3 in Ashmolean; dispersed

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series I. Third, *obv.*: nominative; *rev.* smooth?

no. 112: Münz. & Med. list 361, no. 299 - no plate

Other Cypriot mints: none.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Macedonia, 1 'Lete', 1 Thasos, 1 Neapolis; 1 Aegina; 1 Chios, 1 Samos, 1 Camirus, ingots.

¹³⁴ CH II, 10; Vlamis 1980, p. 82, CNR/179.

H.7. Delta¹³⁵

Provenance: Delta, Egypt

Find date: 1887

Burial date: c. 490-485 (*Asyut*), c. 500 (*IGCH*)

Contents: 30 AR

Disposition: London, Boston, Weber Collection

Number of Salamis specimens: 2

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series I. Stater, nominative case; *rev.* smooth

no. 50: o25

Series I. Third, *obv.* nominative case; *rev.* smooth

no. 104a: o2

Other Cypriot mints: none.

Non-Cypriot mints: 2 Mende, 1 Neapolis, 1 Sermyle, 1 Thraco-Macedonian, 1 'Lete', 1 Dicaea in Thrace, 1 Thasos; 3 Athens; 1 Corinth; 1 Chios; 1 Cyzicus, 6 Miletus, 1 Samos, 1 Cos; 1 Lycia.

¹³⁵ Greenwell, pp. 1-12; Dressel, p. 255; Schlumberger, p. 10, no. 31; Noe 362; *IGCH* 1638; Vlamis 1980, p. 81, CNR/174.

H.8. Fayum¹³⁶

Provenance: Fayum, Egypt

Find date: 1957

Burial date: c. 490-485 (*Asyut*) c. 460 (*IGCH*)

Contents: 15 AR

Disposition: dispersed.

Number of Salamis specimens: 2

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series I. Staters, *obv.*: nominative; *rev.*: smooth

no. 42c: o17; no. 70: o45

Other Cypriot mints:

Idalium: 1 stater

Uncertain king, c. 500 - 480 (as *BMC*, p. 24, no. 1 and p. li.)

obv.: sphinx seated r., with curled wing, l. fore-foot raised; *rev.*: rough incuse square.

Paphos: 1 stater

Uncertain king, late sixth century¹³⁷

obv.: illegible; *rev.*: eagle's head l., upper l. corner: palmette within joined spirals, below: guilloche pattern, dotted incuse square.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 'Orescii' (Macedonia), 1 Neapolis, 1 Acanthus, 1 Mende; 1

Athens Wappenmünzen; 3 early Aegina; 1 Chios; 2 Lycian dynasts.

¹³⁶ Seaby's, Jan 1960, pp. 9-10; *IGCH* 1646; Vlamis 1973, p. 62; Vlamis 1974, p. 74, V/NR.107.

¹³⁷ Seaby's identified this coin as belonging to King Punu... This cannot be demonstrated as the obverse type is obliterated. As with the example from the earlier listed Asia Minor Hoard (H.4), this reverse type is represented in the SE Persepolis deposit.

H.9. Anti-Lebanon¹³⁸

Provenance: Homs, Syria

Find date: 1978

Burial date: c. 480-475

Contents: 70+ AR and ingots

Disposition: in commerce, some in BM, photos and weights on file

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series I. Stater, *obv.*: nominative; *rev.*: smooth

no. 73: o48

Other Cypriot mints:

Paphos: 1 stater

King Timo...?, c. 490 (Hurter & Pászthory, p. 121, no. 62)

obv.: bull standing l., below: large wheel, above: *ti-mo*¹³⁹, to side: additional syllable?; *rev.*: eagle's head l., above l.: palmette and *a*?

Non-Cypriot mints: 2 Abdera, 1 Thasos, 2 uncertain Macedonia, 1 Aegae, 1 Aeneia, 3 Acanthus, 1 Terone; 2 Carystus; 17 Athens; 9 Aegina; 1 Naxos; 1 Sinope, 1 Ephesus, 1 Teos, 4 Chios, 1 Carthaea, 1 Samos, 4 Athens imitation - Sardes; 4 Persia; 2 Lycia, 6 Phaselis; 1 Cyrene; 2 Uncertain fractional pieces; silver ingots c. 20 kg..

¹³⁸ CH VI, 4-5; CH VII, 12 added Salamis stater; CH VIII, 45; Hurter & Pászthory, p. 111-125.

¹³⁹ O. Masson, 'VI. Encore les monnaies de 'Paphos' au dieu-fleuve ou au taureau', RN 1988, pp. 31-32; Kagan, p. 46.

H.10. Egypt¹⁴⁰

Provenance: Egypt

Find date: 1955

Burial date: c. 480?

Contents: 23 AR and ingots

Disposition: Ashmolean (acq. 1956)

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series I. Stater fragment (no more information available)

Other Cypriot mints: none.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Corcyra, 1 Eretria; 1 Athens; 1 uncertain, ingots.

¹⁴⁰ CH I, 7; Vlamis 1980, p. 82, CNR/182.

H.11. Asyut¹⁴¹

Provenance: Asyut, earlier Lycopolis, south of Cairo, Egypt

Find date: 1968/1969

Burial date: c. 475

Contents: c. 900 AR and ingots

Disposition: dispersed

Number of Salamis specimens: 22 (*Asyut*, p. 107, dated c. 515-480 B.C.)

Group A. Uninscribed:

Staters, *obv.* uninscribed; *rev.* smooth

no. 10: o10; no. 11: o11; no. 20: NAS, broken

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series B.I. Staters, *obv.* nominative case, *rev.* smooth

nos. 33a and 33d: o9; no. 34c: o10; nos. 40 and 40a: o15; no.

58: o33; no. 63: o38; no. 68: o 43; no. 71: o46 ; no. 75:

o50; no. 78: o53; nos. 95-97: NAS, broken

Series B.I. Third

no. 111: o10

Group C. King ...noki....

Staters:

nos. 176a and 176e: o1-r1; no. 178: o1, half

Other Cypriot mints:

Citium?: 1 stater

Uncertain king, late sixth century (*Asyut*, p. 104, no. 776)

¹⁴¹ IGCH 1644; CH II, 17 includes 1 Idalium, 5 Lapethus, 22 Salamis; *Asyut*; Vlamis 1980, p. 82, CNR/180.

obv.: lion lying l., head reverted, jaws open, below: astragalos or ram's head?;

rev.: smooth.

Idalium: 1 stater

Uncertain king, c. 500-490 (*Asyut*, p. 105, no. 777)

obv.: sphinx seated r. with curled wing, l. forefoot raised; *rev.*: irregular incuse square.

Lapethus:

Uncertain king, 1 stater, late sixth century? (*Asyut*, no. 779)

obv.: female head, wearing crested helmet; *rev.*: female head, wearing helmet, square dotted border.

Uncertain king, 2 staters, late sixth century (*Asyut*, p. 106, nos. 781-782)

obv.: head of Athena r. in Athenian helmet; *rev.*: head of Herakles r., dotted border, incuse square.

Uncertain king, 2 staters, c. 500 - 480 (*Asyut*, p. 106, nos. 778, 780)

obv.: head of Aphrodite r., hair waved on head and in curls on neck, wearing diadem and circular earring; *rev.*: head of Athena l., hair taken up behind, in crestless Corinthian helmet, incuse square.

obv.: as above; *rev.*: head l., in crested Corinthian helmet, long hair, square dotted border, incuse square.

Paphos: 2 staters, 1 third, *Asyut*: c. 510-480

Uncertain king, 2 staters (*Asyut*, p. 107, nos. 783-784)

obv.: bull walking l. on dotted ground line (all illegible); *rev.* eagle's head l., upper l. corner, palmette with joined spirals, below: guilloche pattern, dotted incuse square.

Uncertain king, 1 stater, 1 third (*Asyut*, p. 107, nos. 785-786)

obv.: bull standing l., below: *ba-si*; above, *ba?*; *rev.*: as above.

Uncertain Mints (*Asyut*: c. 515-485):

Uncertain king, 2 staters (*Asyut*, p. 109, nos. 811-812)

obv.: lion's head r.; *rev.*: four part incuse square.

King Ta...?, 1 stater (*Asyut*, p. 109, no. 810)

obv.: lion forepart r. with dotted truncation, on shoulder: *ba ta*; *rev.*: irregular incuse square.

Uncertain king, 1 stater (*Asyut*, p. 109, no. 813)¹⁴²

obv.: lion's head r.; *rev.*: goat's head l., lower r.: *e*; dotted border, incuse square.

Uncertain king, 2 staters (*Asyut*, p. 109, nos. 814-815)

obv.: lion's head r.; *rev.*: bull's head r., incuse square.

King Pi... ?, 1 stater (*Asyut*, p. 109, no. 816)

obv.: head of lion r., jaws open, truncation dotted, tongue protruded; *rev.*: head of bull l., truncation dotted, l.: *ba pi*; dotted border, incuse square.

Uncertain king, 1 stater (*Asyut*, p. 110, no. 817)

obv.: bull standing l.; *rev.* octopus, lower l.: *ka*; incuse square.

Uncertain king, 1 stater (*Asyut*, p. 109, no. 809)

obv.: bull standing l.; *rev.* ram's head r., above: laurel branch, dotted border, incuse square.

Uncertain king, 1 stater (*Asyut*, p. 126 D)

obv.: winged gorgon running l., facing, r.: *L'B*, dotted border; *rev.*: Herakles nude, running l., bow in r. hand, club in l., motifs to r?, incuse square.

Non-Cypriot mints: 4 Himera, 2 Zankle, 14 Samian Zankle; 2 Metapontum, 1 Caulonia, 1 Croton, 1 Rhegium; 15 Derrones (Macedonia), 5 Ichnae, 6 Thraco-Macedonian, 37 'Orescii', 1 'Laiai', 29 Thasos, 15 Abdera, 4 Dicaea, 4 Aegae, 1 Regal, 38 Ancanthus, 2 Scione, 1 Stagira, 1 Aeneia, 17 Mende, 1 'Olynthus', 6 Potidaea, 2 Sermylia, 11 Terone; 4 Corcyra, 1 Leucas, 11

¹⁴² Also found in earlier Asia Minor Hoard (H.4).

Pegasi, 7 Delphi, 2 Boeotia, 2 Tanagra, 3 Carystus, 1 Chalcis, 5 Eretria, 1 Peparethus; 2 Wappenmünzen, 163 'unwreathed' Athens; 117 early Aegina, 10 small skew Aegina, 5 'tortoise' Aegina, 1 Aegina imitation; 6 early Corinth, 33 Corinth; 4 Melos, 3 Naxos, 6 Paros, 1 Tenos, 1 Skyros; 1 Sinope, 1 Cyzicus, 1 Lampsacus, 1 Parium, 1 Abydus, 1 Lesbos, 1 Clazomenae, 5 Miletus, 6 Teos, 18 Chios, 19 Samos, 1 Cos, 3 Cnidus, 22 Caria, 4 Carpathos, 2 unc. Dodecanese, 9 Camirus, 4 Ialysus, 5 Lindos; 18 'Persia'; 30 Lycian dynasts, 11 Phaselis; 20 Barce, 18 Cyrene, 4 unc. Cyrenaica; 18 uncertain.

H.12. Near East¹⁴³

Provenance: Levant?

Find date: 1980

Burial date: c. 475

Contents: ?

Disposition: unknown

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group B. King Evelthon

Series B.I. Stater, *obv.*: nominative case, *rev.* smooth

no. 43a: o19

Other Cypriot mints: none.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Neapolis (Gorgon/incuse square), 1 Thasos; 1 Naxos; 1 Samos.

¹⁴³ Kraay, *CH* VII, no. 16, pp. 38-39.

H.13. Larnaca¹⁴⁴

Provenance: Larnaca, earlier Citium, Cyprus

Find date: 1933

Burial date: c. 470

Contents: c. 700 AR

Disposition: dispersed (London, Paris, Nicosia, New York)

Number of Salamis specimens: 53

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series I. Staters, *obv.*: nominative case; *rev.*: smooth

no. 22: o1; nos. 23 and 23a: o1-r1; nos. 23b and 23c: o1-r1; no.
24: o2-r1; no. 29: o6; nos. 33b and 33c: o9 ; nos. 34a and
34b: o10 ; nos. 35 and 35a: o10-r4 ; no. 39a and 39c:
o14; no. 40b: o15; nos. 44a, 44b and 44c¹⁴⁵: o19; no. 47:
o22; no. 64: o39; no. 69: o 44; nos. 87-94: TW; no. 102:
NAS

Group C. King ...noki....

Staters:

nos. 176¹⁴⁶, 176b, 176c, 176d: o1; no. 177: NAS

Group D. King Evelthon and/or successors:

Staters

Series D.II. *obv.*: nominative case; *rev.* ankh, *ku* centre

¹⁴⁴ P. Dikaïos, *Cyprus Museum, Annual Report 1933*, 1933, pp. 7-8; Dikaïos 1935, pp. 165-179; Robinson 1935, pp. 180-190; Noe 601; E.T. Newell, 'Miscellanea Numismatica: Cyrene to India', *NNM*, 1938, pp. 14-17, 20 f.; Schlumberger, p. 8, no. 7; *IGCH* 1272 and 1277; Vlamis 1973, p. 62; Vlamis 1974, p. 75, V/NR.108 and V/NR. 114; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, pp. 140-161; Amandry 1986. Amandry has convincingly argued that *IGCH* 1277 is in fact part of the larger Larnaca Hoard, *IGCH* 1272.

¹⁴⁵ Robinson 1935, pp. 184-185: overstruck on stater of Paphus - eagle's head l. and palmette with dotted border.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 184, 'la-no?-ro '.

nos. 187a, 187e and 187f: o1-r1; no. 188: o1-r2

Series D.III. *obv.*: nominative? case; *rev.* ankh

no. 192a: o1-r1; nos. 194 and 194a: o3-r1; no. 200: NAS

Series D.IV. *obv.*: genitive case; *rev.* ankh, *ku* centre

no. 209c: o1-r1; nos. 210, 210a, 210b, 210c, 210d and 210e: o1-r2; no. 211d: o2-r3

Group E. King Mo...:

Stater

no. 270a: o1-r1

Other Cypriot mints (all staters):

Citium?:

Uncertain king, 8 staters, late sixth century (Dikaios 1935, nos. 1-3;

Robinson 1935, p. 180; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 141)

obv.: lion lying l., head reverted, jaws open, below: astragalos or ram's head?;

rev.: smooth.

Idalium:

King Onasa...., c. 500 - 480 (29 with incuse square: on most examples inscription is obliterated) (Dikaios 1935, nos. 4-30)¹⁴⁷

obv.: sphinx with plumed head, curled wing, seated r., l. forefoot raised over two palmettes, l.: *ba sa*; between wing and head: *lo* ?, r.: *o-na* ; *rev.*: incuse square.

King Ki...?, c. 500 - 480 (10 with lotus reverse: on some examples inscription is obliterated) (BMC p. li, and pp. 25-26, nos. 5-7, 'c. 475', no. 6 overstruck on a stater of Baalmelek I of Citium; Dikaios, 1935, nos. 31-39; Robinson 1935, p. 182; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 143)

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 181 attributes these coins to Onasagoras, son of Philokypros.

obv.: sphinx with curled wing (some examples with plumed head) seated r., l.
forefoot raised over two palmettes (some with pellet on flank), r.: *ba*, l.:
ki.; *rev.*: lotus flower on two spiral tendrils, incuse impression which
follows outline of the type.

obv.: as above, l.: *ba-si*; between wing and neck: oval pellet, dotted border;
rev.: as above.

Lapethus:

Uncertain King, 1? stater, late sixth century? (Dikaïos 1935, no. 182;
Asyut, no. 779)¹⁴⁸

obv.: female head, wearing crested helmet; *rev.*: female head, wearing
helmeted, square dotted border.

Uncertain king, 1? stater, late sixth century? (Dikaïos 1935, nos.
530)¹⁴⁹

obv.: female head, wearing crested helmet; *rev.*: Herakles advancing/kneeling
r., wearing lion-skin over head and hanging down back, holds bow in
outstretched l. hand and club in upraised r., l.: inscription, square dotted
border, incuse square.

Uncertain king, 2? staters, late sixth century? (Dikaïos 1935, nos.
528-529)¹⁵⁰

obv.: bearded giant kneeling l.; *rev.*: Herakles advancing/kneeling r., wearing
lion-skin over head and hanging down back, holds bow in outstretched l.
hand and club in upraised r., l.: inscription, square dotted border, incuse
square.

¹⁴⁸ Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 144-145, is able to link the obverse dies of Dikaïos no. 182 to the type combination with Herakles advancing r. thus attributing these coins (Dikaïos Uncertain Group A) to Lapethus.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 144. Destrooper-Georgiades also argues (p. 145) that a Larnaca specimen has the same die as the specimen found in the SE Persepolis deposit and the Demanhur specimen, and thus that these coins must date to the sixth century.

¹⁵⁰ Robinson 1935, p. 185-187 and E.S.G. Robinson, appendix: 'Kings of Lapethus', NC 1948, pp. 61-65; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 144, attributes these to Lapethus due to their similarities to the previous two types.

Uncertain king, 2? staters, late sixth century? (Dikaios 1935, nos. 526-527; Robinson 1935, p. 186; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 144)

obv.: bearded head r.?; *rev.*: Herakles' head r., bearded, wearing lion's skin, square dotted border, incuse square.

Uncertain king, 4? staters, c. 500 (Dikaios 1935, nos. 40-44; Robinson 1935, p. 184)

obv.: head of Athena r. in Athenian helmet, wearing circular earring, behind: Phoenician inscription, dotted border; *rev.*: head of Athena r. in crestless Corinthian helmet, long hair, incuse square.

Uncertain king, 138? staters, c. 490 - 480 (Dikaios 1935, nos. 45-182; Robinson 1935, p. 184; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 145-146)

obv. head of Aphrodite l. (some examples to r.), hair waved on head and in curls on neck, wears diadem and circular earring; *rev.*: head of Athena r., in crestless Corinthian helmet, incuse square.

obv.: as above; *rev.*: head of Athena l., in crested Corinthian helmet, long hair, square dotted border (on one example), incuse square.

Paphos:

Uncertain king, 3? staters, late sixth century? (Dikaios 1935, nos. 183-185; Robinson 1935, p. 184; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 149, note 69: 'Salamis CM 377 (cat. no. 927, smooth reverse/nominative') overstruck on coin of this type.)

obv.: bull walking l. on dotted ground line; *rev.*: eagle's head l., upper l. corner: palmette with joined spirals, below: guilloche pattern, dotted incuse square.

King A...?, 1? stater, c. 500 (as BMC p. lxxvii; Dikaios 1935, no. 186; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 149)

obv.: bull walking l., below: *ba a.*; *rev.*: as above.

King Timo...?, 1? stater, c. 490

obv.: bull walking l., below: wheel with four spokes, above: *ti-mo*.¹⁵¹; *rev.*: eagle's head l., upper l. corner: palmette with joined spirals, above: Phoenician *aleph*; below: guilloche pattern, dotted incuse square.

King Pnu... I, 288? staters, c. 490 (Dikaios 1935, nos. 187-474; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, pp. 150-151)

obv.: bull standing l. on dotted ground line, above: *pu-nu.*; *rev.*: eagle's head l., upper l. corner: palmette with joined spirals, below: guilloche pattern, dotted incuse square.

obv.: as above, above: *pu.*; *rev.*: as above.

Uncertain mints:

King Wo... ?, 2? staters (Dikaios 1935, nos. 531-532; Robinson 1935, pp. 186-187; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 156)

obv.: forepart of lion r., jaws open, above *ba wo*; dotted circular border; *rev.*: gorgoneion, sprays in corners, square dotted border, incuse square.

King Pi....., 3? staters (Dikaios 1935, nos. 533-535; Robinson 1935, pp. 186-188; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 156)

obv.: head of lion l., jaws open, tongue protruded; *rev.*: head of bull r., truncation dotted, above l.: *ba pi*; incuse square.

King E.... (or Te), 7? stater (Dikaios 1935, nos. 540-546; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 157)

obv.: head of lion l., jaws open, tongue protruded; *rev.*: head of bull r., truncation marked with row of dots, l.: *ba e*; dotted border, incuse square.

King Sa..., 4? staters (Dikaios 1935, nos. 536-539; Robinson 1935, pp. 186-188)

¹⁵¹ Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 149 translates this inscription as *ti-vo*, instead of *ti-mo*.

obv.: head of lion l., jaws open, tongue protruded, truncation dotted; *rev.*:

head of bull l., truncation dotted (one linear), below: *ba sa*; l.: branch,
dotted circular border, incuse circle (one example incuse square).

Uncertain king, 6? staters (Dikaios 1935, nos. 547-552; Robinson 1935, pp. 186-188; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 157)

obv.: head of lion l., jaws open, tongue protruded, truncation dotted; *rev.*:
octopus, below l.: *wo*, incuse square.

King Mo...., 1 stater (Dikaios 1935, no. 553; Robinson 1935, pp. 186-188; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 157)

obv.: head of lion r., jaws open, tongue protruded, truncation dotted; *rev.*:
octopus, below l.: *mo*, on r. *ba?* incuse square.

Uncertain king, 1 stater (Dikaios 1935, no. 554; Robinson 1935, p. 188)¹⁵²

obv.: male head l., beardless, in crestless helmet with cheek and neck piece,
across bottom of neck: *sa ba sa*, above, on neck piece: *lo?*; *rev.*: female?
figure with four wings running? r.

Non-Cypriot mints: none.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 157 suggests also *sa ba ri* or *ni*.

H.14. Jordan¹⁵³

Provenance: Hauran region, Levant

Find date: 1967

Burial date: c. 454

Contents: 113 AR with jewellery and ingots

Disposition: Oxford and elsewhere

Number of Salamis specimens: 5

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series B.I. Stater, *obv.*: nominative case, *rev.*: smooth

no. 34d: o10, broken

Series B.II.a. 12th, *obv.*: ram's head l., *rev.*: smooth

no. 130c: o5

Group D. King Evelthon and/or his successors:

Series D.IV. Stater, *obv.*: genitive case; *rev.*: ankh, *ku* centre

no. 213: o3-r5, fragment

Stater, details uncertain

no. 218: o8-r10, fragment

Series D. IX.a. 12th, *obv.*: ram's head l., *rev.* ankh

no. 243: o2-r2

Other Cypriot mints (most fragmentary):

Citium: 5 staters

King Baalmelek I, c. 479-450 (as *BMC* pp. 8-10, nos. 2-9 and p. xxx;

Kraay & Moorey, *RN* 1968, p. 188, nos. 67-71)

¹⁵³ *IGCH* 1482; H.B. Mattingly, 'A new light on the early silver coinage of Teos', *SNR* 73 (1994), p. 8, suggests a date of c. 454 for the hoard. H.B. Mattingly, 'The Jordan Hoard (*IGCH* 1482) and Kimon's last campaign', *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatics*, 1986, pp. 59-64; Kraay & Moorey, pp. 181-235; Vlamis 1974, p. 74, V/NR.101.

obv.: Herakles advancing r., wearing lion's skin over head and hanging down back (tail seen behind), in outstretched l. hand a bow, in r. club raised over head, dotted border; *rev.*: lion seated r., jaws open, in field l. above lion, inscription, before feet, ram's head, dotted square border, incuse square.

Idalium: 3 staters, 1 third

Uncertain king, c. 500-480 (Kraay & Moorey, p. 189, nos. 72-75)

obv.: sphinx seated r. with curled wing, l. forefoot raised over palmette, between head and wing, *lo?*; *rev.*: irregular incuse square.

Lapethus: 1 stater

Uncertain king, pre 480 (Kraay & Moorey, p. 189, no. 76)

obv.: head of Aphrodite r.; *rev.* head of Athena l.

Paphos: 2 staters, 2 thirds

King Pnu... I, c. 490 (Kraay & Moorey, p. 190, nos. 77-80)

obv.: bull standing l. on dotted ground line; above: *pu.*; *rev.*: eagle's head l., upper l. corner: palmette with joined spirals, below: guilloche pattern, dotted incuse square.

Uncertain mints:

Uncertain king, 1 half stater? (Kraay & Moorey, p. 190, no. 86)

obv.: head of lion r., jaws open; *rev.*: head of bull r., r.: *e - mo*, between: branch, incuse square.

Uncertain king, 1 stater (Kraay & Moorey, p. 190, no. 87)

obv.: head r. wearing crested Attic helmet; *rev.*: head of bearded Herakles r. wearing lion's skin, incuse square.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Messana; 3 Acanthus, 1 Aegae, 2 Bisaltae, 1 'Lete', 2 unc. Thraco-Macedonian, 1 Alexander I, 1 Abdera, 1 Thasos; 1 Corcyra; 1 Wappenmünzen, 23 unwreathed and 7 wreathed Athens; 2 early Aegina; 1

Corinth, 1 Elis; 1 Clazomenae, 1 Ephesus, 5 Miletus, 2 Chios, 1 Caria; 1 'Persia'; 3 Lycian dynasts, 2 Phaselis; 1 Tyre, Gaza?, 23 Uncertain.

H.15. Egypt¹⁵⁴

Provenance: Delta, Egypt

Find date: pre 1879

Burial date: c. 450 - 420

Contents: 18 AR

Disposition: two pieces in Fitzwilliam, Cambridge

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group D. King Evelthon and/or his successors:

Stater (no further information available)

Other Cypriot mints: none.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Syracuse; 1 Macedonia, 1 Bisaltae; 1 Abdera, 1 Acanthus; 3 Athens; 1 Chios; 1 Lycia; 1 Persia; 1 Tarsus; 1 Babylon; 2 Barce; 2 'Barce'.

¹⁵⁴ CH VIII, 57, pp. 71-72: T.V. Buttrey, 'Egypt, Before 1879, Early 5th Century B.C., c. 14 AR', p. 71 'this jumble of stuff can hardly represent a single original hoard - eg the Tarsus piece is too late - but seems likely most derived from one original deposit.'; C.W. King, 'On a Mummy's Treasures recently discovered in the Delta', *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vol. 4 (1876-1880), pp. 385-390, original notes said 'seventeen silver coins'.

H.16. Zagazig¹⁵⁵

Provenance: earlier Bubastis, Egypt

Find date: 1901

Burial date: c. 449

Contents: 84 AR

Disposition: unknown

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group D. King Evelthon and/or his successors:

Series D.IV. Stater, *obv.* genitive case, *rev.*: ankh, *ku* centre

no. 209b: o1-r1

Other Cypriot mints: none.

Non-Cypriot mints: 2 Zancle; 5 Acanthus, 2 Derrones (Macedonia), 1 Dicaea in Macedonia, 4 Mende, 4 Potidaea, 3 Terone, 2 Thraco-Macedonian, 1 Thasos; 1 Delphi, 1 Corcyra; Athens (16 owls with unwreathed helmet and 18 owls with wreathed helmet and moon¹⁵⁶); 9 early Aegina; 1 early Corinth; 1 Paros; 1 Sinope, 2 Teos, 2 Chios, 1 Samos, 1 Poseidium Carpathi?, 1 Camirus; 2 Phaselis, 3 Lycian dynasts; 1 Cyrene.

¹⁵⁵ H.B. Mattingly, 'A new light on the early silver coinage of Teos', *SNR* 73 (1994), p. 8 suggests a date of c. 449 for the hoard.; Dressell & Regling, pp. 104-38; Noe 1178; W.L. Brown, 'Pheidon's Alleged Aeginetan Coinage', *NC* 1950, p. 185; Schlumberger, p. 11, no. 40; Kraay 1956, pp. 50-51; *IGCH* 1645; Vlamis 1974, p. 74, V/NR.103.

¹⁵⁶ Kraay 1956, p. 50.

H.17. Asia Minor¹⁵⁷

Provenance: southern? Asia Minor

Find date: pre 1912

Burial date: c. 430

Contents: AR

Disposition: Berlin and elsewhere

Number of Salamis specimens: 5

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series B.I. Stater, *obv.*: nominative case; *rev.*: smooth

nos. 98-100

Group D. King Evelthon and/or his successors:

Series D.II. Stater, *obv.*: nominative case; *rev.*: ankh

no. 190

Series D.VII.a Thirds, *obv.*: genitive case; *rev.*: ankh, *ko-ru*

no. 226

Other Cypriot mints:

Citium:

King Baalmelek I, c. 479-450: 13 staters

see Jordan Hoard (H.14)

King Azbaal, c. 450-425: 20 staters; 9 thirds and 19 sixths

obv.: Herakles advancing r., wearing lion's skin over head and hanging down back (tail seen behind), in outstretched l. hand a bow, in r. club raised over head, dotted border; *rev.*: lion r., bringing down stag r., above: inscription, dotted square border, incuse square.

¹⁵⁷ Dressel & Regling, p. 5, note 1b; Schlumberger, p. 8, no. 10; *IGCH* 1252; Vlamis 1974, p. 75, V/NR.116; details of this hoard come from Glendining, 7 July 1914, nos. 1-27, no plates.

King Baalmelek II, c. 425 - 400: 1 stater

obv.: as above; *rev.*: lion r., bringing down stag kneeling r., above: inscription,
dotted square border, incuse square.

Uncertain king(s?): 161 fractions

obv.: head of Herakles r., wearing lion's skin, dotted border and types with
Herakles advancing; *rev.* lion r. (one l.), bringing down stag kneeling r.,
dotted square border, incuse square.

Idalium:

Uncertain king., c. 500 - 480: 1 stater

obv.: sphinx seated r. with curled wing, l. forefoot raised; *rev.*: irregular incuse
square.

King Kra..., post 480: 3 staters, 7 thirds

obv.: sphinx with curled wing seated l. on tendril which rises beneath belly to
a bud, on which she places her r. forefoot, l.: *ba*, r.: *ka-ra*, dotted border;
rev.: lotus flower on two spiral tendrils, l. outline of ivy-leaf, r.:
astragalos, linear border, incuse circle.

Lapethus:

Uncertain king, c. 490 - 480: 2 staters

obv.: head of Aphrodite r., hair waved on head and in curls on neck, wears
diadem and circular earring; *rev.*: head of Athena l., hair taken up
behind, in crestless Corinthian helmet, incuse square.

Paphos:

Uncertain king, late sixth century?: 9 staters

obv.: bull standing l. on dotted ground line; *rev.*: eagle's head l., upper l.
corner: palmette with joined spirals, below: guilloche pattern, dotted
incuse square.

Uncertain king: 12 sixths, 44 fractions

obv.: bull standing l., above: winged disc; *rev.* dove standing l., above: ivy-
leaf, below l.: one handled cup.

King of Golgi?, 1 stater

obv.: Hermes advancing l., nude but for chlamys over shoulders and upper
arms, r. arm extended, l. holding caduceus transversely, l.: *ba sa la*, dotted
border; *rev.*: head of Zeus Ammon l., with pointed beard and ram's horn,
hair in heavy mass on neck, dotted square border in slight depression,
incuse square.

Non-Cypriot mints: 2 Athens; 2 Aegina; 1 Clazomenae, 1 Erythrae, 1 Miletus, 1
Chios, 1 Cnidus, 1 Caria; 1 Lycia; 1 Sidon, 2 Tyre; 4 Persia; 2 Cyrene.

H.18. Black Sea¹⁵⁸

Provenance: Black Sea

Find date: c. 1970

Burial date: c. 425-420

Contents: 108+ AR and Hacksilber

Disposition: Ashmolean Museum Oxford, except for 30+ Sinope in trade.

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series B.I. Stater, *obv.* nominative case, *rev.* smooth

no. 77: o52, fragment

¹⁵⁸ C.M. Kraay and P.R.S. Moorey, 'A Black Sea hoard of the late fifth century BC', NC 1981, pp. 1-19, the Salaminian coin was not published as part of the hoard, but added at some point by Kraay as his notes in Oxford would suggest.; *Ashmolean Report* 1970/71, pp. 44 ff; CH I, 15; Vlamis 1980, p. 82, CNR/183.

Other Cypriot mints:

Paphos: 2 staters

King Onasioikos, second half of fifth century¹⁵⁹

obv.: bull standing l. on dotted ground line, above: winged solar disc, below:

ba-si-le, above: *o-na-si*, front, below: ankh, dotted border; *rev.*: eagle flying

l., body and head seen in profile, tail and wings from below, below l.:

ivy-leaf, incuse square.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Segesta; 1 Acanthus, 1 Bisaltae, 1 Thracian Chersonese; 16

Athens (510-490); 31 Sinope; 1 Lycia; 1 Side; 1 Soli, 1 Tarsus?; 17 Persia.

H.19. Massyaf (Syrian)¹⁶⁰

Provenance: Massyaf, Syria, near earlier Baetocaece

Find date: 1961

Burial date: c. 425-420

Contents: 100 AR

Disposition: unknown

Number of Salamis specimens: 2

Group D. King Evelthon and/or his successors:

Series D.II. Stater, *obv.* nominative case, *rev.*: ankh, *ku*

no. 187: o1-r1

Series D.VII.b Stater, *obv.* genitive case, disc in inverted crescent,

rev.: ankh, *ko ru*

¹⁵⁹ BMC, p. lxxi 'Onasi...', p. 41 for date.

¹⁶⁰ H. Mattingly, 'The Jordan Hoard (IGCH 1482) and Kimon's last campaign', *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatics*, 1986, p. 60 suggests an earlier date of c. 440 for the hoard.; C.M. Kraay, 'Hoards, small change and the origin of currency', *JHS* 84 (1964), pp. 78 ff.; Kraay & Moorey, pp. 210-35; IGCH 1483; Vlamis, *NRC* 1974, p. 74, V/NR.102.

Other Cypriot mints:

Citium: 2 staters

King Azbaal, c. 449 - 425 (Kraay & Moorey, p. 215, nos. 60-61)

see Asia Minor Hoard (H.17)

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Acragas, 1 Syracuse; 1 Acanthus, 1 Bisaltae, 1 Macedonian tribal, 1 Thasos; 1 Eretria; 35 Athens; 11 Aegina; 2 Melos, 1 Thera; 1 Tenedos, 1 Chios, 1 Cnidus; 14 Sidon, 5 Tyre; 1 Persia, Unc.

H.20. Dali I¹⁶¹

Provenance: earlier Idalium, Cyprus

Find date: 1869

Burial date: c. 425-400

Contents: 123+ AR

Disposition: some in London and New York

Number of Salamis specimens: 21

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series B.I. Staters, *obv.*: nominative case; *rev.*: smooth

no. 37a: o12; no. 41: o16

Group D. King Evelthon and/or his successors:

Series D.II. Stater, *obv.* nominative case; *rev.*: ankh, *ku*

no. 187c: o1-r1

¹⁶¹ Lang, pp. 1-18; Six 1883, p. 257; BMC, p. xvii; Hill 1914, pp. 97-109, pl. VII and VIII; Noe 297; Schlumberger, p. 8, no. 5; Price 1969, pp. 1-4; IGCH 1275; Vlamis 1973, p. 62; Vlamis 1974, p. 75, V/NR.112.; ACGC, p. 305 dates the Dali Hoard to the early fourth century.

Series D.II. Third, *obv.* nominative case; *rev.*: ankh, blank?

no. 191: o1-r1

Series D.III. Stater, *obv.* nominative? case; *rev.*: ankh

no. 192: o1-r1; no. 193: o2-r1; no. 196: o5-r3; no. 197: o6-r4

Series D.IV. Stater, *obv.* genitive case; *rev.*: ankh, *ku* centre

no. 209: o1-r1; no. 211: o2-r3; no. 212: o3-r4

Series D.V. Stater, *obv.* genitive case; *rev.*: ankh, *ku* centre, *ki*

no. 221: o1-r1

Series D.VI. Stater, *obv.* genitive case, *rev.*: ankh, *ku* centre, *ke*

no. 222: o1-r1

Series D.VII.b. Stater, *obv.* genitive, disc and crescent; *rev.*: ankh, *ku*

centre, *ko-ru*

nos. 230 and 230b: o1-r2; no. 231: o1-r3

Series D. VIII. Stater, *obv.* *basi eu*, ankh; *rev.*: ankh, pellet centre

no. 235a: o1-r1

Group E. King Mo...:

Series E.I. Stater, *obv.*: no inscription; *rev.*: no inscription

no. 266: o1-r1; no. 267: TW

Series E.II. Stater, *obv.*: no inscription; *rev.*: *mo-...-...*

no. 270: o1-r1

Series E.III. Stater, *obv.*: Evelthon, nominative case; *rev.*: no

inscription

no. 271: o1-r1

Other Cypriot mints:

Amathus:¹⁶²

¹⁶² M. Amandry, 'La Monnayage d' Amathonte, Amathonte I', *Etudes Chypriotes iv*, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1984, pp. 67-69.

King Wroikos or Uncertain? 1 sixth, c. 460/450 (*BMC*, no. 3; Amandry 1984, 125Cb.4)

obv.: lion lying r., jaws open, above: star, dotted border; *rev.*: forepart of lion r., dotted square border, incuse square.

King Mo.... 3 fractions, c. 450/430 (*BMC*, nos. 4-6; Amandry 1984, 126D)

obv.: lion lying r., above: eagle flying r. and between: *mo*, dotted border; *rev.*: forepart of lion r., jaws open, truncation dotted, square dotted border.

obv.: lion lying r. on ground line, above: eagle flying?, dotted border; *rev.*: as above.

Citium?:

Uncertain king. 1 stater, late sixth century (*BMC* no. 1)

obv.: lion lying l., head reverted, jaws open, below: astragalos; *rev.*: smooth.

Citium:

King Baalmelek I, 5 staters, c. 479-450 (*BMC* nos. 2-6)

see Jordan Hoard (H.14)

King Azbaal, 12 staters, 4 thirds, c. 450-425 (*BMC* nos. 12-27)

see Asia Minor Hoard (H.17)

King Baalmelek II, 7 staters, 6 thirds, 4 sixths, c. 425 - 400 (*BMC* nos. 29-41, 43-45, 48 and p. xxxiii)

see Asia Minor Hoard (H.17)

Baalram. 1 tetrobol, late fifth century (*BMC* no. 71 and p. xxxiv)

obv.: as above, in field r.: ankh; *rev.*: lion r., bringing down stag kneeling r., above: inscription, dotted square border.

Idalium:

Uncertain king. 4 staters, c. 500 - 480 (*BMC*, 1-4)

obv.: sphinx seated r. with curled wing, l. forefoot raised; *rev.*: irregular incuse square.

obv.: sphinx seated r. with curled wing, l. forefoot raised, behind: circle of dots with pellet centre, dotted border; *rev.* incuse square.

King Ki... 5 staters, pre 480 (*BMC* nos. 5-9)

obv.: sphinx with curled wing seated r., l. forefoot raised over two palmettes, r.: *ba*, l.: *ki*, *rev.*: lotus flower on two spiral tendrils, incuse which follow the outline of the type.

obv.: sphinx with curled wing and plumed head seated r., l. forefoot raised over two palmettes, l.: *ba-si*, between wing and neck: oval pellet, dotted border; *rev.*: as above.

obv.: sphinx with curled wing and plumed head seated r., l. forefoot raised over two palmettes, on lower part of wing: cross-like sign added, r.: *ki-vo*, l.: *ba-si?*, between wing and neck: oval pellet, dotted border; *rev.*: as above.

obv.: as above, cross-like sign with added upright line, *rev.*: as above.

King Kra... 10 staters, post 480 (*BMC* p. ii and nos. 10-19, 'Gras', 'c. 460')

obv.: sphinx with curled wing seated l. on tendril which rises beneath belly to a bud and opens, on which she places her r. forefoot, l.: *ba*, r.: *ka-ra*, dotted border; *rev.*: lotus flower on two spiral tendrils, l. outline of ivy-leaf, r.: astragalos, linear border, incuse circle.

King Sa... 9 tetrobols, c. 480 - 470 (*BMC*, p. ii and nos. 20-28, 'Stasioikos'; *ICS*, 'Stasikypros')

obv.: as above, l.: *sa*, dotted border; *rev.*: as above.

Lapethus:

Uncertain king, 1 stater, pre 479 (*BMC*, p. 67, Uncertain A. see Newell 1938)

obv.: bearded head r. wearing a crested Attic helmet; *rev.* Herakles head r., bearded, wearing lion's skin, incuse square.

Uncertain king, 1 stater, c. 500 (*BMC*, no. 1)

obv.: head of Athena r. in Athenian helmet; *rev.*: head of Athena r. in crestless Corinthian helmet, incuse square.

Uncertain king. 5 staters, c. 490 - 480 (*BMC*, nos. 2-6)

obv.: head of Aphrodite r., hair waved on head and in curls on neck, wears diadem and circular earring; *rev.*: head of Athena l., hair taken up behind, in crestless Corinthian helmet, incuse square.

obv.: as above; *rev.*: head r.

obv.: head of Aphrodite r.?; *rev.*: head of Athena r., hair in plaited mass on neck, in crested Corinthian helmet, dotted border, incuse square.

obv.: as above; *rev.* as above, upper r. corner: upside-down diagonal ankh, dotted border, incuse square.

Paphos?:

King Siromos, 1 third (*BMC* no. 2)¹⁶³

obv.: human-headed bull kneeling r. on dotted ground line, head reverted, above: *ro-si*, exergue: *ya-e*, dotted border; *rev.*: astragalos, l.: *si*, r.: *ba*, dotted incuse circle.

Paphos:

Uncertain king, 6? staters, late sixth century? (*BMC* nos. 4, 8-13?)

obv.: bull walking l. on dotted ground line; *rev.*: eagle's head l., upper l. corner: palmette with joined spirals, below: guilloche pattern, dotted incuse square.

King Pnu.... I, 3? staters, c. 490 (*BMC* nos. 5-7)

see Larnaca Hoard (H.13)

¹⁶³ Hill (*BMC*, p. lxxv) read the inscription as Bokaros, named after a local river; this was corrected by C.J. Seltman, 'Some Cypriot coins', *NC* 1964, p. 78; *ICS*, pp. 116-117; Price 1969, p. 1. If this type belongs to Paphus as sometimes assumed, and come before the bull and eagle type series, the series of Siromos must be dated very early, since the early bull/eagle types are seen in the Persepolis deposit.

King Aristo... , 1 stater, second half of fifth century (*BMC* p. lxxi, no. 39)¹⁶⁴

obv. bull standing l. on dotted ground line, above: winged solar disc, below: *ri-a*, l. and below: ankh with pellet in centre, dotted border; *rev.*: eagle flying l., body and head seen in profile, tail and wings from below, incuse square.

Uncertain mints:

King E....., 1 stater (*BMC*, p. 68, Uncertain B, 2)

obv.: head of lion l., jaws open; *rev.* ankh, two branches, r. above: *ba*, below: *e*, linear square border, incuse square.

King Pi.... , 1 stater (*BMC*, p. 69, Uncertain C, 3)

obv.: head of lion l. jaws open, tongue protruded; *rev.*: head of bull r., truncation dotted, above l.: *ba pi*, incuse square.

King Fa...?, 1 stater (*BMC*, p. 69, Uncertain C, 4)

obv.: head of lion l., jaws open, tongue protruded; *rev.*: head of bull r., truncation marked with row of dots, r.: *ba fa?*, dotted square border, incuse square.

King of Golgi?, 2 staters (*BMC*, p. 70, Uncertain D, 1-2)

obv.: Hermes advancing l., nude but for chlamys over shoulders and upper arms, r. arm extended, l. holding caduceus transversely, l.: *ba sa la*, dotted border; *rev.*: head of Zeus Ammon l., with pointed beard and ram's horn, hair in heavy mass on neck, dotted square border in slight depression, incuse square.

Non-Cypriot mints: 2 Athens (*BMC* 46, 51)

¹⁶⁴ *ICS*, pp. 120-121 places Aristo... after Onasi...

H.21. Dali II¹⁶⁵

Provenance: earlier Idalium, Cyprus

Find date: 1869

Burial date: c. 425-400

Contents: c. 500 AR (excavated)

Disposition: some in the British Museum

Number of Salamis specimens: 7

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series B.II.a. 48ths, *obv.*: ram's head l.; *rev.*: smooth¹⁶⁶

nos. 152, 152a and 152b: o1; no. 155a: o4; no. 156: o5; no. 157:
o6; no. 160: o9

Other Cypriot mints:

Amathus:

King Wroikos or Uncertain?, 1 sixth, c. 460/450 (Price 1969, p. 2,
nos. 1-16; Amandry 1984, p. 68)

see Dali I Hoard (H.20)

King Mo.... 15 fractions

obv.: lion lying r., jaws open, above: star and *mo*, dotted border; *rev.* forepart
of lion r., incuse square.

obv.: lion lying r., jaws open; *rev.* forepart of lion r., incuse square.

Citium:

King Azbaal, 3 thirds, c. 450-425 (Price 1969, pp. 2-3, nos. 18-20)

see Asia Minor Hoard (H.17)

King Baalmelek II, 1 stater, c. 425 - 400 (Price 1969, p. 2, no. 17)

¹⁶⁵ Lang, pp. 1-8; BMC, p. xvii; Hill 1914, pp. 105-106; Noe 297; Schlumberger, p. 8, no. 5; Price 1969, pp. 2-4; IGCH 1276; Vlamis 1973, p. 62; Vlamis 1974, p. 75, V/NR.112.

¹⁶⁶ Price 1969, p. 4, nos. 390-396, '48ths'.

see Asia Minor Hoard (H.17)

Uncertain king, 8 sixths, 100 twelfths, 99 twenty-fourths, 49 forty-eighths, 4 ninety-sixths (Price 1969, p. 3, nos. 21-280)¹⁶⁷

obv.: head of Herakles r., wearing lion's skin, dotted border and types with Herakles advancing; *rev.* lion r. (one l.), bringing down stag kneeling r., dotted square border, incuse square.

Paphos: 26 sixths, 37 twelfths, 44 twenty-fourths, 2 forty-eighths (Price 1969, pp. 3-4, nos. 281-389)

obv.: bull standing l., above: winged disc; *rev.* dove standing l., above: ivy-leaf, below l.: one handled cup.

Non-Cypriot mints: none.

H.22. Celenderis¹⁶⁸

Provenance: southern Asia Minor

Find date: 1957

Burial date: c. 400

Contents: 1300+ AR

Disposition: on file in BM

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group F. King Phausis:

Series F.II.a. Stater, *obv.*: *ba-u-si o-se*, *rev.*: ankh, *ba* centre, *ba-si-le-o*
no. 274a: o1-r2

¹⁶⁷ These uninscribed issues could be attributed to Baalmelek I, Azbaal or Baalmelek II.

¹⁶⁸ BCH 1960, pp. 493-494; Kraay 1962, pp. 1-15; IGCH 1255 'Cilicia'; CH I, 21, an extra lot including two of Azbaal; Vlamis 1973, p. 62; Vlamis 1974, p. 75, V/NR.113; Vlamis 1980, p. 82, CNR/184; A. Davesne, 'La circulation monétaire en Cilicie à l'époque achéménide', REA 91 (1989), pp. 160-162.

Other Cypriot mints:

Citium: 10+ staters

King Azbaal, c. 450-425 (Kraay 1962, p. 11, no. 7)

see Asia Minor Hoard (H.17)

Uncertain king (speculated attribution to Citium) (as *BMC*, pl. XIX, no. 8; Kraay, 1962, p. 12, no. 11)

obv.: young horseman dismounting l.; *rev.*: Herakles advancing r., brandishing club and carrying bow.

Lapethus: 3 staters

King Sidqmelek, mid fifth century? (*BMC*, p. 30; Kraay 1962, p. 11, no. 8, dates him to the third quarter of the century.)

obv. head of Athena l., in crested Corinthian helmet, hair in regular curls on forehead and in horizontal rolls on neck, wears circular earring and necklace of thread with pearls hanging from it; *rev.*: head of bearded Herakles r.

Paphos: 1 stater

King Stasandros, second half of fifth century (*BMC*, p. lxix and 38-40, nos. 17-38 'mid fifth'; Kraay 1962, p. 11, no. 9)

obv.: bull standing l. on dotted ground line, above: winged solar disc, l.: ankh with pellet centre, exergue: palmette with two spirals springing from base, dotted border; *rev.*: eagle standing l., l.: *ba-si*, r.: *sa-ta-sa*, ankh, square dotted border, incuse square.

Non-Cypriot mints: 200 Athens; 15 Side; 1044 Celenderis, 1 Mallus, 76 Soli; 1 Persia.

H.23. Mesopotamia (or Babylonia)¹⁶⁹

Provenance: Mesopotamia

Find date: pre 1900

Burial date: c. 390-385

Contents: 23 AR

Disposition: Teheran and elsewhere (23 in London)

Number of Salamis specimens: 2

Group D. King Evelthon and/or his successors:

Series D.I. Stater, *obv.*: inscr. illeg.; *rev.*: ankh, *ba* centre

no. 184: o6-r6, fragment

Series D.VII.b. Stater, *obv.*: disc and crescent, genitive; *rev.*: ankh, *ku*
centre, *ko-ru*

no. 230c: o1-r1 (overstruck on stater of Idalium)

Other Cypriot mints: none.

Non-Cypriot mints: 6 Athens; 1 Aegina; 1 Samos; 2 Lycia; 1 Aspendus; 1 Aradus,
1 Sidon, 1 Tyre; 7 Persia.

¹⁶⁹ Robinson 1950, pp. 44-51; Schlumberger, p. 7, no. 6; *IGCH* 1747; Vlamis 1980, p. 83, CNR/187.

H.24. Balkh¹⁷⁰

Provenance: Balkh (Bactria), Afghanistan

Find date: 1966

Burial date: c. 390-380

Contents: 170+ AR

Disposition: unknown

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group I. King Nikodamos:

Series I. IV. Stater, Evelthon / Nikotamo

no. 326: o1-r1

Other Cypriot mints:

Citium: 1 stater (Troxell & Spengler, p. 6, no. 16, p. 12 overstruck on
Aegina land-tortoise issue.)

King Azbaal, c. 450-425

see Asia Minor Hoard (H.17)

Paphos?:

King Siromos, 1 stater (Troxell & Spengler, p. 6, no. 18 and p. 13)

obv.: human-headed bull kneeling r. on dotted ground line, head reverted,

above: *ro-si*, exergue: *ya-e* (example with *se-mo*), dotted border; *rev.*:

astragalos, l.: *si*, r.: *ba*, dotted incuse circle.

Paphos:

King Onasioikos, 1 stater, second half of the fifth century (*BMC* p.

lxxi-lxxiii; Troxell & Spengler, p. 7, no. 19)¹⁷¹

see Black Sea Hoard (H.18)

¹⁷⁰ Troxell & Spengler, pp. 1-19; *IGCH* 1820; Vlamis 1980, p. 82, CNR/185.

¹⁷¹ Troxell & Spengler, p. 7, question the attribution of both this coin and that of Siromos to Paphus based on A.J. Seltman, 'Some Cypriot coins', *NC* 1964, pp. 78-81.

Non-Cypriot Mints: a) 1 Lete, 1 unc. Thraco-Macedonian; 151+ Athens; 1 Aegina; 1 Cnidus; 1 Phaselis; 1 Celenderis, 1 Soli, 1 Tarsus, 1 uncertain Cilician; 1 Tyre. (along with the Cypriot issues) and lot b) 1 Acanthus, 1 uncertain Thraco, 1 Dicaea.

H.25. Rouvier¹⁷²

Provenance: Cilicia

Find date: 1900/1901

Burial date: c. 390-370?

Contents: 137+ AR

Disposition: London, New York and elsewhere

Number of Salamis specimens: 13 (10)

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series B.II. 12ths, *obv.*: ram's head l.; *rev.* smooth

nos. 126a and 126b: o1; no. 134: o9; no. 140: o15; no. 142: o17;

no. 145: o20

Series B.II. 48ths, *obv.*: ram's head l.; *rev.*: smooth

no. 155b: o4; no. 164: o13

Evagoras I (see Chapter Three, p. 293)

Other Cypriot mints:

Amathus: 1 stater, 2 fractions

¹⁷² Noe 292; IGCH 1263 'Cilicia'; Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, pp. 19-39; J. & A.G. Elayi, *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes*, 1993, p. 263; Vlamis 1975, p. 74, V/NR.120; CH VIII, 99.

King Wroikos or Uncertain. fraction, c. 460/450 (Amandry 1984, p.

68; Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, p. 22-24 only lists one coin)

obv.: lion lying l., dotted border; *rev.*: head of lion r.

Citium: 13 fractions

Uncertain king (Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, p. 22)

obv.: head of Herakles r., wearing lion's skin, dotted border; *rev.*: lion r.,

bringing down stag kneeling r., dotted square border, incuse square.

Cyprus?: unusual type: *obv.* Athena head?, *rev.* ram's head right.¹⁷³

Non-Cypriot mints: 7 Side; 74 Celenderis, 3 Nagidus, 24 Soli, 7 Tarsus (as *BMC* p.

166, no. 23 f., Pharnabazus obol); and Phoenician?

¹⁷³ Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, p. 32 and n. 26: 'similar coin found in *IGCH* 1252: J. Hirsch, *Sale* 32, Munich 14-15, Nov. 1912, no. 546, tentitively attributed by Regling in Dressel and Regling, p. 5, n. 1b, to a Cypriot, Carian, Ionian or Lycian mint. Dated to first half of fifth century (Hoard 1252 dated c. 430). See further the late fifth/early fourth bronze coins of Clazomenae. *BMC Ionia* pl. vi. 6. also different style.'

H.26. Delepierre¹⁷⁴

Provenance: Celenderis, Cilicia

Find date: 1944/1945?

Burial date: c. 390-370?

Contents: 52 AR

Disposition: Paris

Number of Salamis specimens: 2

Group B. King Evelthon:

Series B.II. 12ths, *obv.* ram's head; *rev.* smooth:

no. 128b: o3

Evagoras I (see Chapter Three, p. 294)

Other Cypriot mints:

Citium:

Uncertain king, 2 fractions.

obv.: head of Herakles r., wearing lion's skin, dotted border; *rev.*: lion r.,
bringing down stag kneeling r., dotted square border, incuse square.

Lapethus:

Uncertain king, 1 fraction? (Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, p. 24, pl.
IIk.)

obv.: Athena standing holding a shield and spear; *rev.*: Herakles advancing
with bow and club.

¹⁷⁴ Noe 251; SNG Delepierre, nos. 1057, 2819-2823, 2836-2349, 2851-2854, 2857-2859, 2861, 2863-2872, 2890-2898, 2905, 2913, 2919, 2921; Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, pp. 19-39; CH VIII, 100.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Selge, 7 Side; 24 Celenderis, 3 Nagidus, 11 Soli; 1
Phoenician.

H.27. Kabul¹⁷⁵

Provenance: earlier Cabura, Afghanistan

Find date: 1933

Burial date: c. 380

Contents: 115+ AR

Disposition: Kabul Museum

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group J. King Evanthes:

Series J.I. Stater

no. 337: o1-r2, cut

Other Cypriot mints:

Citium: 2 staters

King Azbaal, c. 450-425 (Schlumberger, p. 35, nos. 28-29)

see Asia Minor Hoard (H.17)

Paphos: 3 staters (same as *BMC* pl. xxii. 2; Schlumberger, p. 35, nos. 25-27)

King Onasioikos?, 2nd half of fifth century

obv.: bull standing; *rev.*: eagle flying l., body and head seen in profile and tail
and wings from below.

Non-Cypriot mints: 2 Acanthus, 1 Thasos; 1 Corcyra; 33 Athens, 1 Athens imit.; 4
Aegina; 1 Melos; 1 Lampsacus, 1 Erythrae, 1 Chios, 2 Samos, 1 Cnidus; 1

¹⁷⁵ Schlumberger, pp. 3-6, 31-45; *IGCH* 1830; Troxell & Spengler, p. 16; Vlamis 1980, p. 83, CNR/186.

Lycia; 2 Aspendus, 1 Side; 2 Celenderis, 1 Mallus, 1 Soli, 1 Tarsus; 8 Persia,
29 indigenous.

H.28. Malayer¹⁷⁶

Provenance: south-east of Hamadon, Media, western Iran

Find date: 1934

Burial date: c. 375

Contents: 394+ AR

Disposition: Teheran (306)¹⁷⁷

Number of Salamis specimens: 1

Group D. King Evelthon and/or his successors:

Series D.VIII. Stater

no. 236 'as BMC pl. X, 5': *obv.: ba-si e-u ; rev.: ankh, pellet*
centre, NAS

Other Cypriot mints:

Citium:

King Azbaal, 1 stater, c. 450-425 (Kraay & Moorey, p. 232)

see Asia Minor Hoard (H.17)

King Baalmelek II?, 1 stater, c. 425 - 400 (Kraay & Moorey, p. 224,
no. 21)

see Asia Minor Hoard (H.17)

¹⁷⁶ Robinson 1950, pp. 50-51; Schlumberger, pp. 50-54 does not list the Salamis stater; Kraay & Moorey, pp. 223-8, 232; Troxell & Spengler, pp. 15-16; *IGCH* 1790.

¹⁷⁷ Schlumberger, p. 50, reports that those coins not confiscated and brought to the museum in Teheran, were bought by Mme. Godard, M. Pozze, the Minister of France in Iran, M.H. Seyrig, and M. Aziz Beglou.

Non-Cypriot mints: 1 Messana, 5 Syracuse; 3 Alexander I, 2 Bisaltae, 8 Acanthus,
1 Terone; 3 Corcyra, 1 Leucas, 3 Thebes; 167 Athens; 45 Aegina; 6 Melos; 2
Sinope, 1 Clazomenae, 1 Chios, 2 Samos, 1 'Caunus', 1 Cnidus, 1
Carpathus, 1 Lindus; 5 Lycia; 30 Sidon, 98 Tyre; 1 Persia; 1 Barce.

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

See Tables 2.v.i (pp. 168-174) and 2.v.2 (pp. 176-177).

Hoard with burial dates of c. 510 - 480

The earliest dated hoard containing coins of Salamis, the Ras Shamra Hoard (H.1), is dated in *Asyut* to c. 510,¹⁷⁹ and as may be expected, it includes exclusively staters of Group B with a smooth reverse with Evelthon's name inscribed in the nominative case. As most of the Ras Shamra examples are quite worn and the findspot is not Cypriot it is safe to assume that these coins were in circulation for at least one or two decades before burial. The hoard evidence thus gives us a *terminus ante quem* of the 520s for this group of coins (B. King Evelthon, nominative/smooth) of the mint of Salamis.

The next nine hoards: Demanhur (H.2),¹⁸⁰ Adana (H.3),¹⁸¹ Asia Minor (H.4),¹⁸² Myt Rahineh (H.5),¹⁸³ Egypt (H.6), Delta (H.7), Fayum (H.8),¹⁸⁴ Anti-Lebanon (H.9),¹⁸⁵ and Egypt (H.10), all pre-dating c. 480, contain staters and

¹⁷⁸ Any discussion of these sometimes very complex sixth and fifth century hoards can lead to a number of polemic conclusions. As many dates for archaic Greek coins are based on hoard evidence, dating hoards based on coin types lead to circular arguments.

¹⁷⁹ *Asyut*, p. 17. This date (later than *IGCH* c. 525-520) is based on the fact that the Ras Shamra Hoard includes a coin of Abdera which is similar to that of the specimen found in the Persepolis Deposit.

¹⁸⁰ The Demanhur Hoard is dated c. 500 largely based on the inclusion of incuse reverse Corinthian coins and exclusion of the later types. The same is true for the Aeginetan coins included in the hoard. See Kraay 1956, p. 48, *IGCH* 1637 and *Asyut*, p. 17.

¹⁸¹ The Adana Hoard is dated to c. 500 based on the inclusion of early Thraco-Macedonian issues. See *Asyut*, p. 18.

¹⁸² This hoard is dated no later than 500 based on its similarity to the Demanhur, Sakha, Ras Shamra, Myt Rahineh, Adana, Selinus 1985 and *IGCH* 1185 hoards. See Kagan, p. 49.

¹⁸³ Dated by *Asyut* (p. 17) to c. 500. Like Demanhur, the Myt Rahineh Hoard contains only the earliest issues of Corinth and Aegina. See Kraay 1956, p. 48 for earlier date of c. 520.

¹⁸⁴ The burials of the Delta and Fayum Hoards are dated by *Asyut* (p. 20) to c. 490-485 because of the inclusion of Lycian issues with developed reverse types.

¹⁸⁵ The burial date of the Anti-Lebanon Hoard is set at c. 480 by Hurter (Hurter and Pászthory, p. 112) on account of its inclusion of issues of Acanthus, Athens, Aegea, Aegina, Sinope, Ephesus, Chios and Phaselis which can be dated to c. 500 - 480.

	Salamis	Amathus	Citium	Idaliium	Lapethus	Paphos	Uncertain	Non Cypriot
Persepolis, c. 515 (IGCH 1789)					1 giant/ Herakles advancing	1 bull/ eagle's head		1 Abdera, 1 Aegina, 1 Lydia, 1 Sardis-Croesus
H.1. Ras Shamra, c. 510	6 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth							4 Stagira 1 Abdera 12 'Lete' 15 Thraco-Mac.
H.2. Demanhur, c. 500	4 A. Uninscribed				1 female head/ Herakles advancing r.		9 lion forepart r. /irreg. inc. sq. 1 winged gorgon facing/man headed winged bull forepart	17 Thraco-Mac., 17 'Lete', 12 Thasos, 7 Abdera, 3 Dicaea in Mac., 4 Neapolis, 1 Scione, 1 Stagira. 16 early Aegina, 6 early Corinth, 1 Delos, 2 Naxos, 4 Paros, 19 Miletus, 1 Teos, 5 Chios, 3 Samos, 1 Cos, 1 Caria, 1 Ialysus, 1 Sardis- Croesus, 7 Lycian dynasts, 1 Phaselis, 1 Barce, 1 Cyrene, 18 Unc.
H.3. Adana, c. 500	1 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth						1 lion head r. / irreg. inc. sq. 1 King Pio: boar and lion foreparts/solar disc	1 'Lete', 2 Myrkinos?, 1 Dicaea in Mac., 1 Asia Minor, 1 Lycia
H.4. Asia Minor, pre 500	9 A. Uninscribed 3 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth		2 lion lying/ smooth			1 bull running/ eagle's head	7 lion's head/inc. sq. 1 Ta: lion forepart /inc. sq. 2 King Pio: boar and lion foreparts/solar disc 2 winged gorgon facing/man headed winged bull forepart	1 Abdera, 1 Dicaea in Mac., 4 Thasos, 1 Stagira, 3 'Lete', 2 unc. Thraco- Mac., 6 Aegina, 1 Andros?, 1 Naxos, 1 Ialysus, 1 Lindos, 1 Sardis-Croesus, 12 Lycia, 1 Lycia?, 1 Phaselis
H.5. Myt Rahineh, c. 500	1 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth							2 unc. Thraco-Mac., 1 'Lete', 1 Abdera, 1 early Aegina, 4 early Corinth, 2 Naxos, 1 Paros, 1 Chios, 1 Cos, 2 Caria, 2 Cyrene, 4 Unc.

H.6. Egypt, c. 500	1 B.I. Evelthon nom./ smooth									1 Macedonia, 1 'Lete', 1 Thasos, 1 Neapolis, 1 Aegina, 1 Chios, 1 Samos, 1 Camirus
H.7. Delta, c. 490	2 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth									2 Mende, 1 Neapolis, 1 Semyle, 1 Thraco-Mac., 1 'Lete', 1 Dicaea in Thrace, 1 Thasos, 3 Athens, 1 Corinth, 1 Chios, 1 Cyzicus, 6 Miletus, 1 Samos, 1 Cos, 1 Lycia, 1 Tyre
H.8. Fayum, c. 490	2 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth				1 sphinx/inc. sq.		1 bull/ eagle's head l.			1 'Oresci', 1 Neapolis, 1 Acanthus, 1 Mende, 1 Athens Wappen., 3 early Aegina, 1 Chios, 2 Lycian dynasts
Benha el Asl, c. 485 (IGCH 1640)					1 sphinx /inc. sq.			4		Acanthus, Mende, Neapolis Mac., Orrescii, Terrone, 'Lete', Thraco- Mac., Abdera, Thasos, Chalcis, Eretria, Athens, Aegina, Naxos, Chios, Phaselis, Unc.
H.9. Anti-Lebanon, c. 480	1 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth						1 Timo?: bull/ eagle's head l.			2 Abdera, 1 Thasos, 2 unc. Mac., 1 Aegae, 1 Aeneia, 3 Acanthus, 1 Terone, 2 Carystus, 17 Athens, 9 Aegina, 1 Naxos, 1 Sinope, 1 Ephesos, 1 Teos, 4 Chios, 1 Carthea, 1 Samos, 4 Athens imit., 4 persia, 2 Lycia, 6 Phaselis, 1 Cyrene, 2 unc.
Memphis, c. 480 (IGCH 1643)							1 bull / eagle's head	1 as Traite p. 27, no. 14		Martinea, Teos
H.10. Egypt, c. 480?	1 B.I. Evelthon ?									1 Corcyra, 1 Eretria, 1 Athens, 1 unc.

H.11. Asyut, c. 475	3 A. Uninscribed 15 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth 2 C. noki/smooth		1 lion lying/ smooth	1 sphinx/inc. sq.	1 female head/female head 2 Athena head/ Herakles head 2 Aphrodite head/Athena head	2 bull walking/ eagle's head 1 bull standing/ eagle's head	2 lion's head/inc. sq. 1 Ta: lion forepart/ inc. sq. 1 lion's head/goat's head 2 lion's head/bull's head 1 Pi: lion's head /bull's head 1 Ka: bull/octopus 1 bull standing/ram's head 1 winged gorgon /Herakles running	4 Hímera, 2 Zankle, 14 Samian Zankle, 2 Metapontum, 1 Caulonia, 1 Croton, 1 Rhegium, 15 Derrones, 5 Ichnae, 6 Thraco-Mac., 37 'Orescii', 1 'Lala', 29 Thasos, 15 Abdera, 4 Dicaea, 4 Aegae, 1 Regal, 38 Ancanthus, 2 Scione, 1 Stagira, 1 Aenela, 17 Mende, 1 'Olynthus', 6 Potidaea, 2 Semyllia, 11 Terone, 4 Corcyra, 1 Leucas, 11 Pegasi, 7 Delphi, 2 Boeotia, 2 Tanagra, 3 Carystus, 1 Chalcis, 5 Eretria, 1 Peparethus, 2 Wappen., 163 'unwreathed ' Athens, 117 early Aegina, 10 small skew, 5 tortoise Aegina, 1 Aegina imit., 6 early Corinth, 33 Corinth, 4 Melos, 3 Naxos, 6 Paros, 1 Tenos, 1 Skyros, 1 Sinope, 1 Cyzicus, 1 Lampsacus, 1 Parium, 1 Abydus, 1 Lesbos, 1 Clazomenae, 5 Miletus, 6 Teos, 18 Chios, 19 Samos, 1 Cos, 3 Cnidus, 22 Caria, 4 Carpathos, 2 Dodecanese, 9 Camirus, 4 Ialysus, 5 Lindos, 18 'Persia', 30 Lycian dynasts, 11 Phaselis, 20 Barce, 18 Cyrene, 4 unc. Cyrenaica, 18 unc.
H.12. Near East, c. 475	1 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth						1 Neapolis, 1 Thasos, 1 Naxos, 1 Samos	

H.13. Larnaca, c. 470	31 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth 5 C. noki/smooth 4 D.II. Evelthon nom./ankh ku 4 D.III. Evelthon nom. ?/ankh 8 D.IV. Evelthon gen./ankh ku 1 E. Mo..../ram's head		8 lion lying/ smooth	29 sphinx (Onasa..)/ inc. sq. 10 Ki: sphinx/ lotus	1 female head/ female head 1 female head/ Herakles advancing r. 2 giant/ Herakles advancing 2 bearded head/Herakles' head 4 Athena head/ Athena head 138 Aphrodite head/Athena head	3 bull walking/ eagle's head 1 A: bull walking /eagle's head 1 Timo: bull walking /eagle's head 288 Pnu: bull standing/eagle' s head	3 Wo: lion forepart Igorgon 3 Pi: lion's head/ bull's head 7 e/te: lion's head/ bull's head 4 Sa: lion's head/bull's head 6 lion's head/ octopus 1 Mo: lion's head/ octopus 1 male head/ female figure with wings	
Asia Minor, c. 460 (IGCH 1182)							3 uncertain	Abdera, Thasos, Acanthus, Alexander I, Panticapaeum, Athens, Aegina, Ephesus, Phaselis
H.14. Jordan, c. 454	1 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth 1 B.II. smooth fraction 1 D.IV. Evelthon gen./ankh ku 1 D.IX. ankh fraction		5 Baalmelek I	4 sphinx/ inc. sq.	1 Aphrodite head/Athena head	4 Pnu: bull standing/eagle' s head	1 e-mo: lion's head/bull's head 1 head in helmet/head of Herakles	1 Messana, 3 Acanthus, 1 Aegae, 2 Bisaltae, 1 'Lete', 2 unc. Thraco-Mac., 1 Alexander I, 1 Abdera, 1 Thasos, 1 Corcyra, 1 Wappen., 23 unwreathed & 7 wreathed Athens, 2 early Aegina, 1 Corinth, 1 Ellis, 1 Clazomenae, 1 Ephesus, 5 Miletus, 2 Chios, 1 Caria, 1 'Persia', 3 Lycian dynasts, 2 Phaselis, 1 Tyre, 23 unc.
H.15. Egypt, c. 450	1 Evelthon							1 Syracuse, 1 Macedonia, 1 Bisaltae, 1 Abdera, 1 Acanthus, 3 Athens, 1 Chios, 1 Lycia, 1 Persia, 1 Tarsus, 1 Babylon, 2 Barce, 2 'Barce'

H.16. Zagazig, c. 449	1 D.IV. Evelthon gen./ankh ku										2 Zancle, 5 Acanthus, 2 Derrones, 1 Dicaea in Mac., 4 Mende, 4 Potidaea, 3 Terone, 2 Thraco-Mac., 1 Thasos, 1 Delphi, 1 Corcyra, 16 unwreathed & 18 wreathed Athens, 9 early Aegina, 1 early Corinth, 1 Paros, 1 Sinope, 2 Teos, 2 Chios, 1 Samos, 1 Poseidium Carpathi?, 1 Caminus, 2 Phaselis, 3 Lycian dynasts, 1 Cyrene
H.17. Asia Minor, c. 430	3 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth 1 D.II. Evelthon nom./ankh 1 D.VII. Evelthon gen./ankh ko-ru				13 Baalmelek I 48 Azbaal 1 Baalmelek II 161 fractions	1 sphinx/ inc. sq. 10 Kra: sphinx/ lotus	2 Aphrodite head/ Athena head	9 bull standing/ eagle's head 56 sixths and fracs: bull standing/ dove standing	1 Hermes advancing / head of Zeus Ammon	2 Athens, 2 Aegina, 1 Clazomenae, 1 Erythrae, 1 Miletus, 1 Chios, 1 Cnidus, 1 Caria, 1 Lycia, 1 Sidon, 2 Tyre, 4 Persia, 2 Cyrene	
H.18. Black Sea, c. 425	1 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth							2 Onasi: bull standing/eagle flying		1 Segesta, 1 Acanthus, 1 Bisaltiae, 1 Thracian Chersonese, 16 Athens, 31 Sinope, 1 Lycia, 1 Side, 1 Soli, 1 Tarsus?, 17 Persia	
H.19. Massyaf, c. 425	1 D.II. Evelthon nom./ankh ku 1 D.VII.b. Evelthon gen.-disc & cres /ankh ko ru				2 Azbaal					1 Acragas, 1 Syracuse, 1 Acanthus, 1 Bisaltiae, 1 Macedonian tribal, 1 Thasos, 1 Eretria, 35 Athens, 11 Aegina, 2 Melos, 1 Thera, 1 Tenedos, 1 Chios, 1 Cnidus, 14 Sidon, 5 Tyre, 1 Persia	

H.20. Dali I, c. 425	2 B.I. Evelthon nom./smooth 2 D.II. Evelthon nom./ankh ku 4 D.III. Evelthon nom. ?/ankh 3 D.IV. Evelthon gen./ankh ku 1 D.V. Evelthon gen./ankh ki 1 D.VI. Evelthon gen./ankh ke 3 D.VII.b. Evelthon gen.- disc & cres /ankh ko ru 1 D.VIII. basi eu/ ankh pellet 4 E. Mo.../ram's head	1 Wroikos? 3 Mo..	1 lion lying/ smooth 5 Baalmelek I 16 Azbaal 17 Baalmelek II 1 Baalram	4 sphinx/iinc. sq. 5 Ki: sphinx/ lotus 10 Kra: sphinx/ lotus 9 Sa: shinx/ lotus	1 bearded head/Hearkles head 1 Athena head/ Athena head 5 Aphrodite head/Athena head	1 Siromos 6 bull walking/ eagle's head 3 Pnu: bull standing/eagle' s head 1 Aristo: bull standing/eagle flying	1 ba E: lion's head/ ankh 1 Pi: lion's head/ bull's head 1 Fa?: lion's head/ bull's head 2 Hermes advancing /head of Zeus Ammon	2 Athens
H.21. Dali II, c. 425	7 B.II. Evelthon smooth fracs.	16 Wroikos?	3 Azbaal 1 Baalmelek II 160 fractions			109 bull standing/dove standing fractions		
H.22. Celenderis, c. 400	1 F. Phausis		10+ Azbaal 1 Citium?		3 Sidqmelek	1 Stasandros: bull standing/ eagle standing		200 Athens, 15 Side, 1044 Celenders, 1 Mallus, 76 Soli, 1 Persia
Selimiye, c. 400 (IGCH 1254)			1 Azbaal					Athens, Corinth, Aspendus, Side
Cyprus, c. 400 (CH VI, 10)			1		2	5		Persia, Side
H.23. Mesopotamia, c.390	1 D.VII. Evelthon gen.-disc & cres /ankh ko ru 1 B.I?/ankh ba							6 Athens, 1 Aegina, 1 Samos, 2 Lycia, 1 Aspendus, 1 Aradus, 1 Sidon, 1 Tyre, 7 Persia

H.24. Balkh, c. 390	1 I. Nikodamos		1 Azbaal			1 Siromos 1 Onasi: bull standing/eagle flying		1 Lete, 1 unc. Thrac- Mac., 151+ Athens, 1 Aegina, 1 Cnidus, 1 Phaselis, 1 Celenderis, 1 Soli, 1 Tarsus, 1 unc. Cilicia, 1 Tyre
H.25. Rouvier, c. 390	10 B.II. smooth fractions Evagoras I	3 Wroikos?	13 fractions					7 Side, 74 Celenderis, 3 Nagidus, 24 Soli, 7 Tarsus and Phoenician?
H.26. Delepierre, c. 390	1 B.II. smooth fraction Evagoras I		2 fractions		1 Athena standing/ Herakles advancing			1 Selge, 7 Side, 24 Celenderis, 3 Nagidus, 11 Soli, 1 Phoenician
H.27. Kabul, c. 380	1 J. Evanthes		2 Azbaal			3 bull standing/eagle		2 Acanthus, 1 Thasos, 1 Corcyra, 33 Athens, 1 Athens imit., 4 Aegina, 1 Melos, 1 Lampsacus, 1 Erythrae, 1 Chios, 2 Samos, 1 Cnidus, 1 Lycia, 2 Aspendus, 1 Side, 2 Celenderis, 1 Mallus, 1 Soli, 1 Tarsus, 8 Persia, 29 indig.
H.28. Malayer, c. 375	1 D.VIII. basi eu/ ankh, pellet		1 Azbaal 1 Baalmelek II		.			1 Messana, 5 Syracuse, 3 Alexander I, 2 Bisaltae, 8 Acanthus, 1 Terone, 3 Corcyra, 1 Leucas, 3 Thebes, 167 Athens, 45 Aegina, 6 Melos, 2 Sinope, 1 Clazomenae, 1 Chios, 2 Samos, 1 'Caurus', 1 Cnidus, 1 Carpathus, 1 Lindus, 5 Lycia, 30 Sidon, 98 Tyre, 1 Persia, 1 Barce

Table 2.v.1: Cypriot Coins in Late 6th - 5th Century Hoards

thirds without inscription as well as those with Evelthon inscribed in the nominative case. Ideas of development would suggest that the uninscribed Group A coins are chronologically earlier than the inscribed issues (B), as both groups A and B share the smooth reverse type and the inscription of Group B continues to be used with the later Group D types with ankh reverse. The recent Asia Minor Hoard (H.4)¹⁸⁶ with a mixture of uninscribed (Group A) and inscribed (Group B) smooth reverse types, endorses this supposition,¹⁸⁷ being dated no later than 500 and containing at least twelve coins of uninscribed Group A, and only two from Group B. Similarly the Demanhur Hoard (H.2), dated c. 500, contains at least three Group A specimens and no Group B.

Like other eastern Mediterranean hoards dating to the late sixth century (see Tables 2.v.1 and 2.v.3), the Asia Minor (H.4), Ras Shamra (H.1) and Demanhur (H.2) hoards, contain a varied geographical mixture of issues from the most productive mints of the archaic period, including Thraco-Macedonia, the Aegean and Southern Asia Minor.¹⁸⁸ On the existing evidence, there is certainly no clear indication as to which of these three hoards was buried first. However, the Asia Minor and Demanhur hoards contain the earliest material from the mint of Salamis, as both incorporate uninscribed Group A specimens. Moreover, the majority of Salaminian specimens from these two deposits are in very poor condition, leading one to believe that the coins could have been in circulation for some time.

In these early hoards (H.1-H.10), the inscribed coins of Group B have much in common, lacking many of the attributes which appear on other,

¹⁸⁶ Kagan, pp. 17 ff. This hoard has an unprecedented proportion (42%) of Cypriot coins in a sixth century hoard.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31, goes too far however suggesting that the uninscribed coins were struck under Evelthon and the inscribed by his successors.

¹⁸⁸ See the discussion in *Asyut*, pp. 13 ff.

A. Uninscribed	III. Nominative? / Ankh	E. King Mo...?
B. King Evelthon	IV. Genitive / Ankh	F. King Phausis
C. King ...noki...?	V. Ki Ankh	I. King Nikodamos
D. King Evelthon and/or Successors	VI. Ke Ankh	J. King Evanthes
I. Ba Ankh	VII. Ko Ru Ankh	
II. Nominative / Ankh	VIII. Basi Eu	

	A.	B.	C.	D. I	D. II	D. III	D. IV	D. V	D. VI	D. VII	D. VIII	E.	F.	I.	J.
Ras Shamra, c. 510		X													
Demanhur, c. 500	X														
Adana, c. 500		X										.			
Asia Minor, pre 500	X	X													
Myt Rahineh, c. 500		X													
Egypt, c. 500		X													
Delta, c. 490		X													
Fayum, c. 490		X													
Anti-Lebanon, c. 480		X													
Egypt, c. 480?		X													
Asyut, c. 475	X	X	X												
Near East, c. 475		X													
Larnaca, c. 470		X	X		X	X	X					X			
Jordan, c. 454		X					X								

[illegible]

Table 2.v.2: Coins of Salamis in Late 6th - 5th Century Hoards

presumably later issues; none of the rams lie on a ground line, there are no dotted borders, and they are all lying to the left; also most coins have thick, dumpy flans and are oval in shape.

Only four of the ten hoards dated before c. 480 contain material from other Cypriot mints. The vast majority of non-Salaminian Cypriot coins found in these early hoards come from still uncertain mints. As was established previously, the Demanhur (H.2) and Asia Minor (H.4) hoards contain the earliest hoard material from the mint of Salamis, and it is therefore interesting to note that they also contain a large number of 'Cypriot uncertain' mints.

Although the origins of those coins issued at 'uncertain' Cypriot mints are problematic, we can amass a great deal of information regarding their relative chronology. Most of the issues found in these hoards can be categorised by their fabric. There is one homogeneous series of 'uncertain' issues with a lion's head or lion's forepart on the obverse; it combines two different forms of reverse, the first being a crude incuse square (see enlarged photo, pl. XLV, D), the second incorporating a reverse type, most often a bull's head (see pl. XLV, E). As it is safe to assume from our general knowledge of the development of archaic Greek coinages that the rough incuse square reverse precedes that with a type, we may assume that the lion series with incuse square reverse are the earlier.

In the early Asia Minor Hoard alone, there are at least eight examples of the lion series with rough incuse square reverse. It must be admitted, however, that the 'uncertain' issues in these early hoards are not all of this very crude fabric, since the Asia Minor Hoard has four examples of the most remarkable early Cypriot issues; two coins are examples of the rare boar and lion forepart obverse with a winged solar disc reverse; while the other two are coins with a winged gorgon obverse. As both of these issues carry an advanced reverse type, compared with the irregular incuse square of the lion obverses, it is likely that they are later in date, although it is also probable that they stem from different

minting authorities. All evidence (stylistic, hoard and technique) points to these coins pre-dating c. 500 and thus demonstrating that there were a number of Cypriot mints producing advanced types in the sixth century.¹⁸⁹

The mints which can be identified in these early hoards are those of Paphos, Idalium and possibly Citium and Lapethus. The early coins belonging to Paphos are found in the Asia Minor (H.4), Fayum (H.8) and Antilebanon (H.9) hoards, and are likely to be the earliest issues of that mint;¹⁹⁰ they depict a bull running or walking on the obverse and an eagle's head on the reverse. Only one of these coins, from the Antilebanon Hoard, can be attributed to a specific issuing authority, as it is inscribed with the syllables *ti-mo*. The Paphian series is obviously early, as not only do coins with the bull running or walking on the obverse and eagle's head reverse appear in the Asia Minor Hoard, but one also appears in the South East Persepolis deposit dated to c. 515. This is certainly the earliest of the bull/eagle series of the mint of Paphos,¹⁹¹ and the implications of the example from Persepolis will be discussed later in more detail.

The coin of Idalium from the Fayum Hoard (H.8) is likely to be the earliest issue of the mint since the obverse type of the sphinx, which is typical of Idalium, depicts a simple design without palmettes, while the reverse type is an irregular incuse square (see pl. XLV, F). The later issues of Idalium have the more advanced reverse type of a lotus flower (see pl. XLV, G).

The attribution of the series with the lion lying to the left on the obverse and a smooth reverse to Citium is still in question (see XLV, H).¹⁹² Two coins of

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁹⁰ There is a possible earlier type of Paphus belonging to a King Siromos with a human-headed bull obverse and an astragalos reverse; but the attribution to the mint is very contentious. See note 163.

¹⁹¹ See discussion by Kagan, p. 29; See also O. Masson, 'Notes de numismatique chypriote', *Opusc. Athen.*, 1968, pp. 27-29 and O. Masson & M. Amandry, 'Notes de numismatique chypriote, VI-VIII', *RN*, 1988, pp. 27 ff.

¹⁹² *Asyut*, pp. 104-105; Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 141, note 12 dates them to the beginning of the fifth century after *Asyut* p. 105, but surely they must be dated earlier; Kagan, pp. 27-28.

this issue were found in the early Asia Minor Hoard (H.4) and have a strong likeness to the earliest issues of Salamis (Groups A and B) which also have a smooth reverse type. Unfortunately all of the known examples of this early series are quite worn and whatever symbol or legend may have been placed under the lion (which is just discernible on some examples) is now illegible.

There are three other early hoards containing Cypriot material (but not of Salamis) which are worth a mention: the Benha el Asl Hoard (IGCH 1640), the Memphis Hoard (IGCH 1643) and the Persepolis Deposit (IGCH 1789). All three contain coins from 'uncertain' Cypriot mints; the Benha el Asl Hoard also contains the very simple Idalium type with an irregular incuse square (see Chart 2.v.1 for further details of contents). Both the Memphis and Persepolis hoards (as mentioned above) include the early Paphos issue with bull obverse and eagle's head/palmette reverse.

Hoards with burial dates of c. 479 - 470

The Larnaca Hoard (H.13) is dated by Destrooper-Georgiades to c. 479-478 on the basis of the absence of any coins of Baalmelek I of Citium (c. 479-450).¹⁹³ This burial date is, however, far from secure as the dates of the king are contentious.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, this hoard contains only Cypriot coins, and, therefore, cannot be dated via non-Cypriot mints. Because of the many questions concerning the dating of early Cypriot coinage, the burial date of Larnaca must remain tentative. Yet, there are a number of similarities between Cypriot coins from the Larnaca Hoard and those of the Asyut Hoard (H.11) which is more

¹⁹³ Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 159. Coins of Baalmelek I do not appear until Jordan Hoard c. 454.

¹⁹⁴ There is no firm evidence for when Baalmelek I came to the throne. The Jordan Hoard (H.14) suggests that he was still ruling in the late 450s, while Asia Minor (H.17) and Massyaf (H.19) place him well within the third quarter of the fifth century. Kraay & Moorey, p. 189, also support the theory that King Azbaal could have conquered Idalium in the third quarter of the fifth.

firmly dated, on the basis of non-Cypriot issues, to c. 475. It will be maintained here, however, that the Cypriot material from Asyut predates that from the Larnaca Hoard and that the burial date of the Larnaca Hoard should be later, c. 470.

The majority of the Salaminian coins found in Asyut have a smooth reverse, with either no inscription (Group A), or Evelthon inscribed in the nominative case (Group B); there are also three coins belonging to our supposed 'Kingnoki...' (Group C). The three examples from the Asyut Hoard have been recut above the ram to read ...-no?-we on one specimen (C.II, no. 178) and no-ki on the other two (C.I, same obverse die, nos. 176a and 176b).¹⁹⁵

While the Larnaca Hoard also contains coins with a smooth reverse, there are no uninscribed (Group A) types (nor in any hoard dated hereafter). As with the Asyut Hoard, there are also at least four coins of King ...noki... (Group C) in the Larnaca Hoard, all from the same obverse die, which is linked to at least one of the Asyut examples.¹⁹⁶

Notably, in the Larnaca Hoard, we find coins of Salamis with a reverse type, the simple ankh (Group D);¹⁹⁷ the majority have *ku* in the centre. It is important to note that while four examples of the ankh reverse coins have the name of Evelthon in the nominative case (Series D.II), the majority of the examples are written in the genitive (Series D.IV). There are no examples of the genitive inscription among the coins of Salamis in Asyut.

It should also be noted that among the nominative /ankh (D.II) examples in the Larnaca Hoard, at least one is die linked (o1-r1) to examples in both the Massyaf (H.19) and Dali I (H.20) hoards, dating to c. 425. As we shall see below,

¹⁹⁵ *Asyut*, pp. 108-109 misreads coin no. 176e as ..wenola... as having the inscription *u-we*.

¹⁹⁶ Destrooper-Georgiades 1984, p. 154 read the inscription as *e-no-la*, obviously not making the link to the clearer Asyut example. She also speculated that there is a rose in front of the ram; the markings are actually die flaws emanating from the ram's breast.

¹⁹⁷ Kagan, p. 45: 'The introduction of reverse types found on coins from Larnaca, but not Asyut, is a clear fifth century development'.

the Dali Hoard has all the characteristics of being a 'savings hoard' having been stockpiled for a number of years; thus the appearance of such an early issue is not surprising. The Massyaf Hoard, found in Syria, is again not a great deal of help chronologically as it was found far from Cyprus and the coin is quite worn. It should be noted, however, that the other Salaminian specimen in the Dali Hoard is of the *ko-ru* variety (D.VII), which is clearly later than the more simple genitive / ankh types of Series DI-IV.

Further die links can be made between ankh reverse coins in the Larnaca Hoard coins and later deposits which included those in the genitive case. The Dali Hoard have both nominative and genitive die links with Larnaca, and the latter also appear in the Zagazig Hoard (H.16) which is dated the same as Larnaca, c. 470.

In addition to the above issues, the Larnaca Hoard also includes a coin issued under the name of 'Mo...' (Group E). This group will be discussed more fully below, as it is also well represented in the Dali Hoard.

The other Cypriot mints represented in these two hoards are extensive, and although exhibiting a number of similarities, as with the Salaminian material, the material from the Larnaca Hoard is more advanced than that of Asyut. The latter includes at least three of the lion's head series with incuse square reverse types, but the Larnaca Hoard, which contains a number of the lion's head series (at least 23), has no specimen with the crude incuse square reverse; all specimens bear advanced reverse types, including gorgoneion (see pl. XLV, I), bull's head and octopus (see pl. XLV, J).

Both hoards contain the lion/smooth type combination tentatively attributed to Citium and seen in earlier hoards, while neither has any of the dynastic series firmly attributed to Citium. The mint of Idalium is represented in Asyut only by the sphinx and incuse square variety, while Larnaca contains two different types of the lotus leaf reverse. Lapethus is also a good mint for

comparison as Asyut only includes those early series of female head/female head, Athena head/Herakles head and Aphrodite head/Athena head (see pl. XLV, K), while Larnaca contains not only many of these early examples, but also the more advanced types of the Athena head/Athena head and the Aphrodite head/Athena head series (138 examples).¹⁹⁸

Asyut also contains coins of Paphos that are less mature from those of Larnaca, with just one early variety of the bull walking/eagle type combination, while Larnaca includes at least four different issuing authorities with this type combination including: King A..., King Timo... and King Pnu.... I. The Pnu series marks clear advances in the obverse type as the bull now seems to be standing still as it does in many of the fully developed classical examples from the mint (see pl. XLVI, L).

The only other hoard dating to this period is the Near East Hoard (H.12)¹⁹⁹ dated to c. 475 which includes Salaminian types of Group B only with Evelthon written in the nominative case with a smooth reverse.

Hoard with burial dates of c. 454 - 425

The eight hoards which can be given burial dates between c. 454 and 425 are Jordan (H.14),²⁰⁰ Egypt (H.15), Zagazig (H.16),²⁰¹ Asia Minor (H.17), Black

¹⁹⁸ Serious work needs to be done on the coins attributed to Lapethus. It is quite possible that not all of these early types should be attributed to this mint.

¹⁹⁹ The burial date of c. 475 for the Near East Hoard is determined by Kraay, *CH* VII, p. 39, due to the hoard's similarities to Asyut.

²⁰⁰ Kraay (in Kraay and Moorey, p. 185) dates the Jordan Hoard to c. 445 based on the latest Athenian issues included in the hoard which he dated to the middle of the fifth century. Mattingly (*SNR* 73, 1994, p. 8) suggests an earlier date of c. 454 for the hoard based on the early wreathed specimens present in the hoard.

²⁰¹ The Zagazig Hoard is dated by Mattingly (*SNR* 73, 1994, p. 8) because of the inclusion of 'wreathed' Athenian coins which can be dated later than those found in the Jordan hoard. See Kraay 1956, p. 50.

Sea (H.18),²⁰² Massyaf (H.19),²⁰³ Dali I (H.20), and Dali II (H.21).²⁰⁴ In at least four of the hoards – Near East, Jordan, Black Sea and Dali I, smooth reverse types of Group B are still represented. However, with the exception of Dali I, the hoards were found in remote areas; thus these coins travelled some distance and the amount of wear also indicates that they certainly could have been in circulation for some time. The smooth reverse is also not surprising in Dali I (discussed below) as this hoard contains a number of early Cypriot issues.

Most of the material found in these hoards consists of coins produced by Evelthon and/or his successors (Group D), the largest percentage of which has Evelthon written in the genitive case on the obverse and an ankh with *ku* centre on the reverse (D.IV). It should be reiterated, however, that in at least two of the hoards, the Massyaf (H.19) and Dali I (H.20) hoards, there are a few examples of Series D.II – the ankh reverse type with Evelthon's name written in the nominative case on the obverse.

The Jordan Hoard (H.14) is significant as it introduces fractional coinage to the hoard evidence. Stylistically and epigraphically one might have expected to see the smooth reverse fractions (B.II) in an earlier hoard, yet they are also represented in a much later hoard, the Rouvier Hoard (H.25), with a burial date

²⁰² C.M. Kraay and P.R.S. Moorey, 'A Black Sea hoard of the late fifth century BC', NC 1981, pp. 17-18. Kraay dates this hoard primarily on the Athenian issues with a terminal date of c. 430/25 and the inclusion of the 'barbarous eagle-heads' of Sinope and exclusion of later 'well-formed eagle-heads'.

²⁰³ The burial date of c. 425-420 for the Massyaf Hoard was proposed by Kraay (Kraay and Moorey, p. 221), based on the inclusion of Athenian issues dating c. 430-425 and Aeginetan tortoise staters. Kraay also cites the appearance of coins of Azbaal of Citium whose coins did not appear in the Jordan Hoard. Kraay & Moorey, p. 216, claim that hoard evidence suggests a much later date than Hill's date of c. 500-480 (BMC, p. lxxxix: Hill thought the fabric was too advanced for such an early date) for this series. The *ko-ru* issues are found in the Jordan (H.14), Mesopotamia (H.23), and Dali (H.20) but not in the Larnaca Hoard. Thus Kraay dates the *ko-ru* issues to 450 - 430.

²⁰⁴ Price (Price 1969) dated the Dali Hoards to the last quarter of the fifth century. His date was based on the fact that the hoard exhibited a number of varieties advanced beyond that of the Larnaca deposit and excluded later Cypriot issues dating to the fourth century which are found in the Vouni Hoard. Kraay, ACGC (p. 305), dated the Dali Hoard to the early fourth century. The date is, however, somewhat irrelevant as it is clear that this hoard is a savings hoard and contains issues collected over a very long period of time.

of c. 390. On the other hand, the smooth reverse and crude fabric of many of the examples, comparable with early staters, would lead us to assume an early date, and the evidence of the Jordan Hoard (H.14) clearly sets the ankh reverse fractions alongside their heavier counterparts.²⁰⁵

Unlike the Near East (H.13), Zagazig (H.16) and Egypt (H.15) hoards which are similarly dated to Jordan (H.14), only the last contains issues from other Cypriot mints. While the Idalium specimens (sphinx/incuse square) in the Egypt Hoard are clearly early varieties of the mint, the Citium coins are more advanced varieties than seen in earlier hoards; Kings Baalmelek I (c. 479-450, see pl. XLVI, M) and Azbaal (c. 450-425, see pl. XLVI, N) appear for the first time in the hoard evidence.

The Massyaf (H.19) and Dali I (H.20) hoards, c. 425, introduce the coins with various additional syllables on the reverse, including *ki* (D.V), *ke* (D.VI), *ko-ru* (D.VII),²⁰⁶ and *basi eu* (D.VIII). Since it is clear from the evidence of Ras Shamra (H.1), Adana (H.3), Asia Minor (H.4) and Myt Rahineh (H.5) that issues in the name of Evelthon began in the sixth century, and since it is also clear from the Massyaf and Dali I hoards that issues were still being produced in the name of Evelthon in the last quarter of the fifth century, it seems safe to conclude that his successors were using his name posthumously.

The *ko-ru* variety (D.VII) is the only series from Group D that is represented in any numbers. It is represented in hoards as late as the Mesopotamia Hoard (H.23) dated to c. 390. It should be noted, however, that although D.VII appears in hoards dating from c. 430 (H.17) to c. 390, there is at least one die link between all three hoards.

Most of the contents of the two Dali Hoards (H.20 and 21) were acquired by the British Museum in 1870, 1871 and 1902 having been discovered by Sir

²⁰⁵ Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, p. 38, suggests that the smooth reverse fractions were issued late in the fifth century on the hoard evidence.

²⁰⁶ Kraay & Moorey, p. 216. Kraay dates this coin somewhere between 450 and 430.

Hamilton Lang at Dali, Cyprus in 1869.²⁰⁷ The hoards are dated c. 425-400 and are without a doubt the most substantial and informative hoards containing the coins of Salamis. If Price was correct in assuming that the two Dali Hoards represent one original burial,²⁰⁸ there would be ten different Salaminian type combinations represented in this hoard alone.

As mentioned above, the Dali Hoards are made up of a mixture of very early and later fifth century Cypriot issues. The early issues of Salamis include those with smooth reverses (Group B) and those with an ankh reverse coupled with the obverse type with the legend in the nominative (D.II). Though it contains early pieces, there is no doubt that Dali was stockpiled over a long period of time since there is also a wide variety of advanced reverse types including those with additional symbols and syllables. These later types include the *ko-ru* series (D.VII) and the *basi eu* coins with the added disc and inverted crescent symbols (D.VIII). The advanced fabric of the D.VII and VIII series, coupled with the fact that these series do not appear in the hoard evidence until c. 430 (Asia Minor, H.17) strongly suggests that they are later issues.

The other Cypriot material in the Dali I Hoard (H.20) also covers a large span of issues from the late sixth century well into the fifth. The hoard is the latest hoard to include perplexing issues from the 'uncertain' series; among them are a number of the lion's head series, all with the bull's head, not the incuse square reverse.

The coins from the mints of Citium, Idalium and Paphos are prime examples showing the length of time in which the coins were amassed before burial. The earliest issues tentatively attributed to Citium (couchant lion/smooth, which can be dated to the sixth century) are represented here along

²⁰⁷ BMC, p. xvii.

²⁰⁸ Price 1969, p. 4: Although Price's assumption may be correct and indeed there is no doubt that the two hoards date to the same time period, the deposits should be listed as separate hoards.; Lang, p. 3, originally assumed that the two different deposits were not close in date, and the earliest dated to c. 600.

with those of Baalmelek I, Azbaal, Baalmelek II (c. 425-400) and Baalram. The Citium material may point to an even later date of burial for the hoard as five generations of dynasts are represented. The progression of types at the mint of Idalium is here well represented by the early sphinx with the incuse square reverses down to many varieties with the lotus type reverse, including those minted under Kings Ki..., Kra... and Sa... From the mint of Paphos there are the tentatively attributed coins of King Siromos with a human-headed bull obverse and astragalos reverse (see pl. XLVI, O) alongside the more firmly attributed types with a bull obverse and eagle's head reverse as well as the more advanced varieties of King Pnu... I and King Aristo...²⁰⁹

The Dali II Hoard (H.21), of the same date as Dali I, is wholly made up of fractional issues. The Salaminian fractions are of the lighter variety and include those with an ankh reverse; the other mints represented include Amathus and King Wroikos? and Citium's Azbaal and Baalmelek II, and a huge number of uninscribed fractions. These fractions tend to date somewhat later than the larger denominations in the Dali I Hoard, thus weakening Price's argument for one single hoard. On the other hand, a number of smooth reverse fractions from the mint of Salamis still appear.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ For a recent discussion of the Siromos issue, see Kagan, pp. 29-30 who rightly questions the attribution to Paphus but not the early date of the series.

²¹⁰ Hill 1914, p. 106 states that the presence of these smooth reverse fractions in the hoard corrects his *BMC* dating of these coins to the later fifth century. This down-dating is entirely unnecessary as it is obvious that both the Dali Hoards have a wide range of issues from the early part of the century.

Hoard with burial dates of c. 400 - 375

The Celenderis (H.22),²¹¹ Mesopotamia (H.23),²¹² Balkh (H.24),²¹³ Rouvier (H.25), Delepierre (H.26),²¹⁴ Kabul (H.27)²¹⁵ and Malayer (H.28)²¹⁶ hoards all have burial dates in the first quarter of the fourth century. Coins of Evelthon's successors with the king's name written in the genitive case appear in two of these deposits, Mesopotamia and Malayer, both examples of very advanced style with the additions of *ko-ru* (Series D.VII) and the *basi eu* series (D.VIII).

The Celenderis Hoard (burial date c. 400) is the only known hoard with a coin issued in the name of King Phausis. Kraay, in his publication of the hoard, suggested a date in the third quarter of the fifth century for the striking of this particular coin.²¹⁷ However, in consideration of the early fabric and types of the Phausis issues, it is reasonable to assume that it was minted in the first half of the century, and no later.

The only hoard evidence for King Nikodamos (Group I), is a stater with an Evelthon inscribed obverse and Nikodamos reverse (Series I.IV) which appears in the Balkh Hoard (H.24) of c. 390-380. Like the Asyut Hoard, this hoard was found far from Cyprus, and this coin could have been minted far earlier than the

²¹¹ Kraay 1962, pp. 13 ff. sets the *terminus ante quem* of the hoard at c. 490 based on the absence of Tarsus issues with satrapal inscriptions. The *terminus post quem* of c. 410 is also based on the earliest Tarsian issues included.

²¹² Robinson 1950, p. 48 bases the date of c. 390 on the absence of Athenian coins dating to the fourth century and the inclusion of coins of Aradus, Tyre and Sidon which he dated to the earliest years of the fourth century.

²¹³ The burial date of c. 390-380 (Troxell and Spengler, p. 17), is based on the coins of Celenderis and Tarsus which date to the late fifth century; an additional ten to twenty years was added to account for a certain amount of wear.

²¹⁴ Despite the appearance of smooth reverse types, the Rouvier and Delepierre hoards must be dated to the fourth century because of the inclusion of coins of Evagoras I of Salamis.

²¹⁵ Like the Balkh Hoard (H.24), the Kabul Hoard also includes issues of Tarsus which can be dated to the very closing years of the fifth century. See Schlumberger, pp. 3-6.

²¹⁶ The later date of c. 375 for the Malayer Hoard is suggested by the appearance of a number of Phoenician issues.

²¹⁷ Kraay 1962, p. 13. Kraay did not suggest a reading for this inscription.

burial date. The date of burial of the hoard, after the accession of Evagoras I, can only be of limited help in dating King Nikodamos, though a fourth century date for the hoard allows the theory that the Nikodamos issues followed those of Phausis and others with Evelthon inscriptions. Other Cypriot coins in the Balkh hoard include those of Azbaal of Citium and Onasioikos of Paphos. Quite puzzling, however, is the appearance of what is thought to be a very early, sixth century coin of Paphos, produced by King Siromos. This hoard evidence must put in doubt the attribution of this series to Paphos.²¹⁸

The Kabul Hoard (H.27), of c. 380, likewise provides the only known hoard evidence for another King, Evanthes (Group J). The late date of the hoard, coupled with the advanced style of these issues, leaves little doubt that they are the latest coins issued at Salamis before those of Evagoras I. The only other Cypriot coins in this hoard are issues of Azbaal of Citium and Paphian issues possibly belonging to King Onasioikos.

In the Rouvier and Delepierre hoards there is much fractional coinage, of both the heavier and lighter denominations. The appearance of the smooth reverse (B.II) alongside the ankh reverse (D.IX) types is most puzzling, especially as both hoards also contain coins issued by Evagoras I.²¹⁹ This combination of issues found in the same hoard will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Other fractional Cypriot issues found in these two hoards include those of King Wroikos? of Amathus and the unattributed fractional series of either King Balmelek I, Azbaal, or Balmelek II, uncertain because of their similar combinations of types.

²¹⁸ See note 163.

²¹⁹ Destrooper-Georgiades 1988, p. 38 suggests that fractions with a smooth reverse were minted well into the last decades of the fifth century.

Circulation

Upon examination of Chart 2.v.4 and Table 2.v.3, two generalisations may be made. First, a number of the later hoards contain far fewer coins from the Greek world; many, including Celenderis (H.22), Mesopotamia (H.23), Rouvier (H.25) and Delepierre (H.26) have none of the rich early issues from the Thraco-Macedonian mints, which is not surprising given the cessation of production of these issues by the latter half of the fifth century.²²⁰ Moreover, a number of the hoards in the first quarter of the fourth century include coins from Phoenician mints, again not surprising as these mints were not active until the fourth century.²²¹

Secondly, the percentage of Salaminian, and other Cypriot coins in these hoards declines greatly compared to their earlier counterparts.

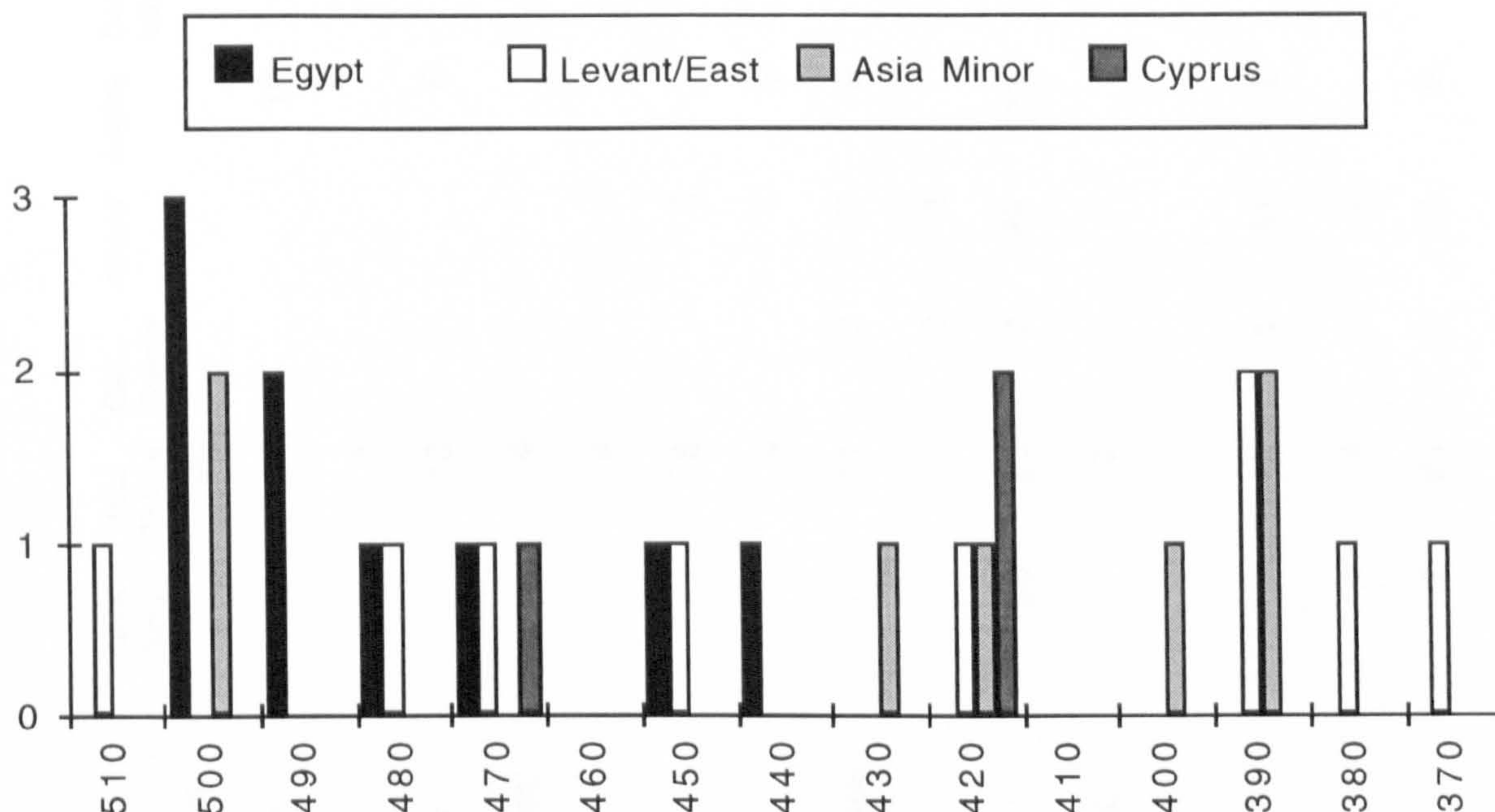


Chart 2.v.4. Areas and Dates of Hoards Containing
Late 6th - 5th Century Cypriot Coins

²²⁰ Kraay & Moorey, pp. 226-227; See also Schlumberger, p. 24 ff.

²²¹ Kraay & Moorey, p. 221: 'reasonable to suppose that the activity of new Phoenician mints may have constituted a bar which did not previously exist to the eastward dispersion of Cypriot coins'.

	Italy& Sicily	Mac/ Thrace	Cen. Greece	Athens	Aegina	Cor- inth	Islands	Asia Minor	Lycia/ Pamph.	Cyprus	Cilicia	Persia	Phoen- cia	Cyren- aica
H.1. Ras Shamra, c. 510		32								6				
H.2. Demanhur, c. 500		62		16	6	7	32	8	15					2
H.3. Adana, c. 500		4					1	1	3					
H.4. Asia Minor, pre 500		13		6		2	3	14	28					
H.5. Myt Rahineh, c. 500		4		1	4	3	4		1					2
H.6. Egypt, c. 500		4		1		1	3		1					
H.7. Delta, c. 490		8		3		1	10	1	2				2	
H.8. Fayum, c. 490		4		1	3		1	2	4					
H.9. Anti-Lebanon, c. 480		11	2	17	9	1	13	8	2			4		1
H.10. Egypt, c. 480			2	1					1					
H.11. Asyut, c. 475	25	23	7	165	133	39	14	105	41	42		18		42
H.12. Near East, c. 475		2					1	1		1				
H.13. Larnaca, c. 470										700				
H.14. Jordan, c. 454	1	12	1	31	2	2		10	5	21		1	2	
H.15. Egypt, c. 450	1	4		3				1	1	1	1	1		4
H.16. Zagazig, c. 449	2	23	2	34	9	1	1	8	5	1				1

H.17. Asia Minor, c. 430				2	2	6	1	307	1	4	3	2
H.18. Black Sea, c. 42	1	3		16			2	3	33	17		
H.19. Massyaf, c. 425	2	4	1	35	11	3	3	4	3	1	19	
H.20. Dali I, c. 425				2				116				
H.21. Dali II, c. 425								500				
H.22. Celenderis, c. 400				200			15	16	1121	1		
H.23. Mesopotamia, c. 390				6	1	1	3	2		7	3	
H.24. Balkh, c. 390		4		151	1	1	1	4	4		1	
H.25. Rouvier, c. 390							7	29	108		2	
H.26. Delepierre, c. 390						-	8	5	38		1	
H.27. Kabul, c. 380		3	1	33	4	1	4	6	5	8		
H.28. Malayer, c. 375	6	14	7	167	45	6	10	3		1	128	1

Table 2.v.3. Mint Composition of Hoards Containing Late 6th - 5th Century Cypriot Coins

(numbers are often approximate)

There are four main areas in which hoards containing coins of Salamis have been found: Egypt, the Levant (and further east), Asia Minor and, of course, Cyprus. One must note that the coins of Salamis, or indeed Cyprus as a whole, rarely, if ever, travel to the west.²²²

Regarding the circulation of the earliest issues of Salamis, it should be noted that not one of the relevant hoards was found on Cyprus. The first nine hoards, dating from c. 510 to 475, are from three areas of the eastern Mediterranean: Asia Minor (H.3 and 4), the Levant (H.1 and 9), and Egypt (H.2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, and 11).

The findspots of the hoards dating between c. 454 and 425 show more geographical variety. Unlike the majority of the earlier hoards, only two are from Egypt (H.15 and 16), while new and more remote areas are added to our circulation patterns, including the Black Sea area (H.18).

Three hoards, Larnaca (H.13) and Dali I and II (H.20 and 21), were found in Cyprus, the only three hoards of the fifth century containing coins of Salamis found there. The Larnaca and Dali hoards are limited to Cypriot issues, although with Dali, this is not surprising, as it is made up of fractional pieces, which rarely travel. The Larnaca Hoard is of interest as the only denomination represented is the stater.

Although there are many similarities between the Asyut and Larnaca Hoards, it has been firmly established that the Cypriot material in the Asyut Hoard (H.11) is earlier than that in the Larnaca Hoard (H.13). Thus it may not come as a surprise to find the earlier Cypriot material is from an Egyptian hoard, coinciding with the majority of the earlier hoards.

The geographically mixed Asyut Hoard contrasts with that of the Larnaca Hoard, which had a range of strictly indigenous material. This perhaps suggests

²²² There has been one find of a single coin on the Greek mainland, see p. 389.

something about the use of coins in Cyprus itself. While Cypriot coins obviously travelled widely during the late sixth and early fifth centuries, thus suggesting a wide range of acceptance (if only for the metal²²³) in the eastern Mediterranean, the Larnaca Hoard suggests that within the island of Cyprus itself there was little use of imported currencies. Moreover, Dali (H.21) introduces just one mint to the mainly indigenous treasure, that of Athens. This confirms the conservative nature of interior circulation of currencies on the island during the fifth century.

The clearest evidence for change in hoard circulation comes in the fact that no coins of Salamis (or any other Cypriot mint) are found in Egyptian hoards after 449, having appeared in at least nine hoards in the first half of the century. While it must be noted that the number of Greek hoard finds in Egypt drops dramatically in the second half of the fifth century,²²⁴ there are two such hoards containing Greek material of the fifth century which can be dated to the second half of the century. These later hoards are marked by a dramatic increase in the numbers of Athenian specimens.

The findspots of the hoards dating to the first quarter of the fourth century are now limited to two areas, with the majority from the Near East, as far off as Iran and two from Afghanistan (H.23, 24, 27 and 28); the other hoards are from Asia Minor (H.25 and 26). It is interesting to note that these Asia Minor hoards contain a number of fractional issues, indicating a wider circulation for these smaller denominations, rather than just local usage.

²²³ Those found outside Cyprus, especially Egypt, are often test-cut, thus defaced and recognised for their bullion value only. See discussion by A. Destrooper-Georgiades, 'Presentation of new material and work in progress on Cypriot classical numismatics', *Acta Cypria* 1991, pt. 2, 1992, p. 60.

²²⁴ Sixth and first half of fifth: IGCH 1632 to 1646 compared to 1647 and 1648 in the second half.

Possible Debasement

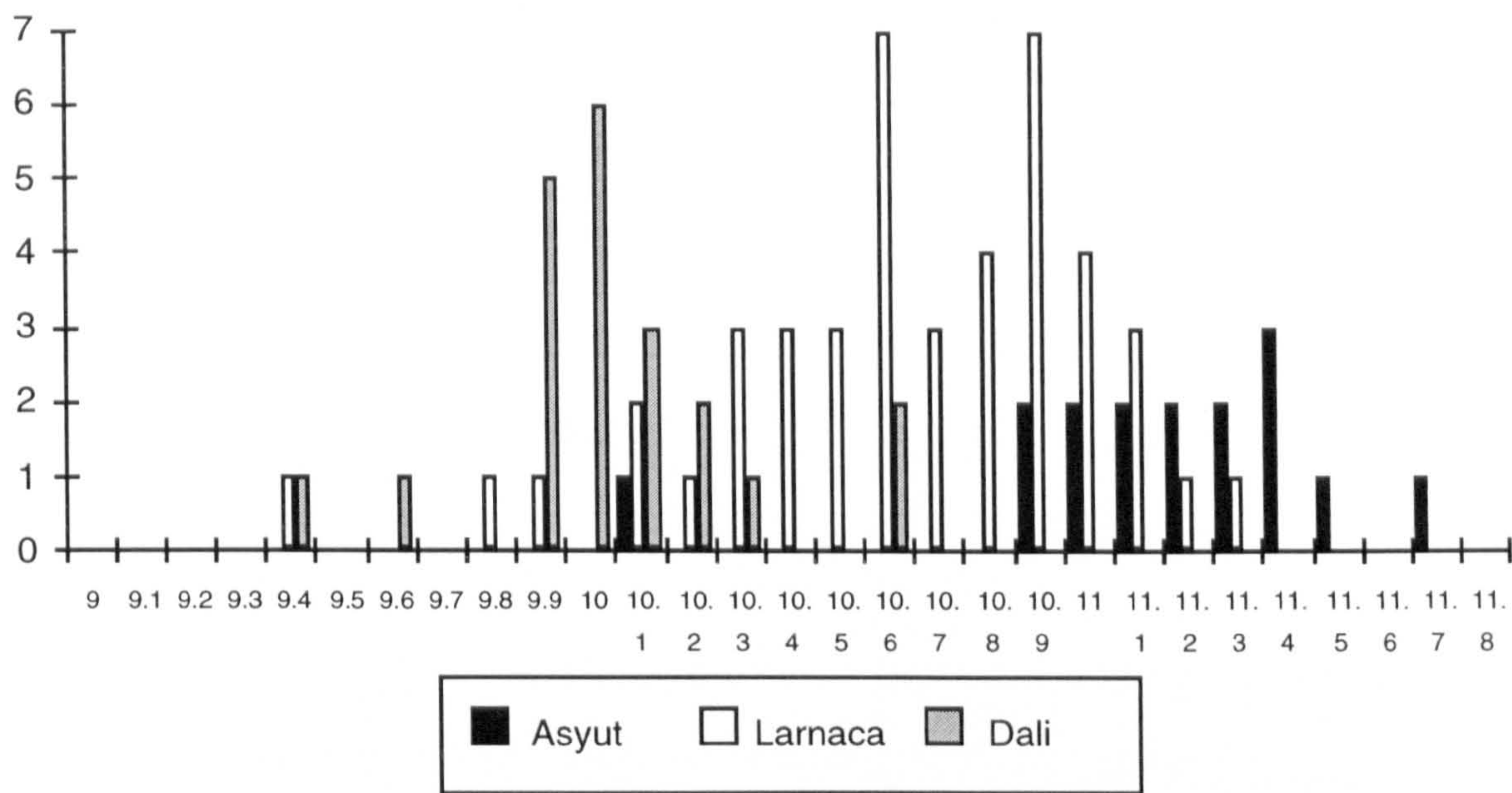


Chart 2.v.5: Weights of Salaminian Staters in Asyut, Larnaca and Dali Hoards

The three hoards containing the majority of staters from Salamis during the fifth century are Asyut, Larnaca and Dali I. Chronologically the material in the Asyut Hoard is the earliest, then Larnaca, with Dali clearly containing some more advanced styles. If one charts the weight range of the staters in these three hoards, it is clear that there is a gradual decline in the weight of the stater:

Asyut: 10.90 g. to 11.70 g. (possible peak at 11.40 g.)

Larnaca: 9.40 g. to 11.30 g. (possible peak at 10.90 g.)

Dali: 9.40 g. to 10.60 g. (possible peak at 10.00 g.)

Alternatively, it could also be suggested that the decline in weight is due to simple wear of the coins themselves. As Dali is certainly made up of a number of specimens which should have been in circulation for some time, this

possibility cannot be ignored. Whether or not this is an actual debasement in the mint itself remains in question.

2.vi. Archaeological Evidence

Coins found during Excavation

Persepolis, Persia

no. 57, Evelthon stater, B.I. nominative/smooth

Treasury, Hall 38

Cyprus

Amathus

no. 86, Evelthon stater, AR plated, B.I. nominative/smooth;

Tomb 30

obv: stabbed 2 times, rev: stabbed 3 times

Aphendrika

no. 167, Evelthon, 48th?, 0.06 g., B.II. ram's head l./smooth

Tomb 42

tiny, thin and dark

no. 166²²⁵, Evelthon, 48th?, 0.06 g., B.II. ram's head l. /smooth

Tomb 37

Larnaca

no. 210f, Evelthon stater, D.IV. genitive/ankh, *ku* centre,

'found at Larnaca'

sprays of three leaves in four corners

Tamassos

no. 175, Evelthon

Sanctuary of Aphrodite

²²⁵ Identified by Dray & du Plat Taylor, p. 67 and 121 as a coin of Evagoras I.

Salamis Necropolis

Evelthon 48ths: ram's head r./smooth??:

The following coins were not included in the catalogue due to their excessive wear:

0.13 g., very worn	Tomb 37
Karageorghis 1970, p. 68, tomb 37, no. 38a - Appendix 1: p. 236, no. 2, fig. 2	
0.12 g., very worn	Tomb 37
Karageorghis 1970, p. 68, tomb 37, no. 38a - Appendix 1: p. 236, no. 3, fig. 3	
0.11 g., very worn	Tomb 37
Karageorghis, 1970, p. 68, tomb 37, no. 38a - Appendix 1: p. 236, no. 4, fig. 4	
0.05 g., very worn	Tomb 37
Karageorghis, 1970, p. 68, tomb 37, no. 38a - Appendix 1: p. 236, no. 5, fig. 5	
0.06 g., worn, thin and small (dotted border)	Tomb 60
Karageorghis 1970, p. 99, tomb 60, no. 108 - Appendix 1: p. 238, no. 7, fig. 7	
0.29 g., very worn - small and thin	Tomb 80
Karageorghis 1973, p. 125, tomb 80, no. 19 - Appendix 1: p. 205, no. 5	

Evelthon 12ths: B.II. ram's head l./smooth:

no. 130b, 0.68 g., good condition	Tomb 80
-----------------------------------	---------

Evelthon 48ths: D.IX. ram's head l./ankh:

no. 264, 0.36 g., very worn ²²⁶	Tomb 37
no. 263, 0.34 g., good condition (ram's head r., dotted border)	Tomb 89

²²⁶ Helly, p. 236, identifies two syllables on the reverse as *ta-se*, and thus claims that the coin corresponds to those of Nikodamos. From the photograph available (the coin was not available for study) this seems not to be the case. The argument that this coin belongs to those produced under the name of Evelthon is strengthened by the fact that there are no known light fractions belonging to Nikodamos.

Not included in catalogue:

0.18 g., small and thin Tomb 80

Karageorghis 1973, p. 125, tomb 80, no. 23b - Appendix 1: p. 204, no. 4

0.49 g., small and thin Tomb 80

Karageorghis 1973, p. 125, tomb 80, no. 22 - Appendix 1: p. 204, no. 3

0.25 g., worn Tomb 80

Karageorghis 1973, p. 125, tomb 80, no. 20 - Appendix 1: p. 205, no. 6²²⁷

0.10 g., worn - small and thin Tomb 80

Karageorghis, 1973, p. 125, tomb 80, no. 21 - Appendix 1: p. 205, no. 7

Evelthon 12ths: D.IX? ram's head l./ankh ?:

0.85 g., good obv Tomb 80

Karageorghis 1973, p. 125, tomb 80, no. 23a - Appendix 1: p. 204, no. 2

Discussion

The evidence of these very rare coin finds from archaeological excavations can create a number of problems. Most dangerous is the fact that a number of archaeologists have actually based the chronology of a certain area or tomb on the coins themselves. Thus attempts to draw chronological conclusions regarding particular coin issues based from archaeological context may well involve circular arguments.

As stated in the last section, Schmidt²²⁸ originally identified the Paphian coin (Schmidt no. 38) from the SE Persepolis Deposit of the Apadana as one of

²²⁷ Helly identifies the reverse type as a horse.

²²⁸ Schmidt, pp. 113-14.

King Evelthon of Salamis; this turns out not to be the case. However, the excavator was correct in identifying a Salaminian specimen found above the floor in the Treasury (no. 57).²²⁹ As the coin (of Group B) was found above the floor, no *terminus ante quem* can be argued from this evidence for the issue.

The British Museum excavations at Amathus in the late nineteenth century revealed one coin of Salamis (no. 86) in Tomb 30, at Sites D & E.²³⁰ Like the Persepolis specimen, this find is one of the few staters discovered during excavations. As at Persepolis, this coin is inscribed with the name of Evelthon and has a smooth reverse type (Group B). The fact that this coin was found in situ in the context of a tomb is quite revealing; the fact that it is plated is even more so. Coins found in a funerary context are not generally uncommon as it was the practice to place a coin in the possession of the deceased to ensure safe passage to the underworld, the coin representing 'Charon's Fee'.²³¹ What is unusual, however is the fact that it is a large denomination (obols are usually used). The fact that the coin is plated, however, may explain the use of the large denomination; perhaps this was a ritual token gesture on behalf of the deceased's family who substituted a 'ghost' coin for a valuable silver stater. Whoever left the coin in the tomb knew it was plated as there is a deep and revealing test cut in the specimen.²³²

Two fractions of Evelthon (B.II) are included among the coins found at Aphendrika during the 1938 excavations published by Dray and du Plat Taylor.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 113, no. 113.

²³⁰ *BMC*, p. 246, Salamis no. 4; Murray, Smith & Walters, p. 117

²³¹ K. Grinder Hansen, 'Charon's fee in ancient Greece? Some remarks on a well-known death rite', *Acta Hyperborea*, 3 (1991), p. 210, dates the first evidence for the placement of coins in graves to the 2nd quarter of the fifth century.

²³² The use of 'ghost money' in burial rituals was known throughout the Greek world. See D.C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, 1971, p. 211. For recent discussion on 'Charon's fee' see K. Grinder Hansen, *ibid.*, pp. 207-218 and various articles, 'La moneta in tomba', in *La Parola del Passato*, 50 (1995), pp. 165-356.

According to the excavators, tomb number 37 was used over a long period of time with our coin corresponding to one of the earliest burials in the early fourth century.²³³ There is a marked flaw in this argument, however, as the excavators identified the coin as an issue of Evagoras I and they accordingly dated the burial on the basis of the coin. If the coin does have any bearing on the date of the tomb, the latter could certainly be much earlier.

The second tomb with a coin at Aphenrika also contained a fraction of Evelthon (B.II). The date of this tomb is much more secure as the excavators were independently able to assign the pottery found in the same context as the coin to the end of the sixth century.²³⁴

The coin found by Buchholz during excavations at Tamassos in 1970 is, unfortunately, unavailable for study and is only known from a brief mention in *Archaeological Reports*. It is described as a coin of Evelthon and was found in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite.²³⁵

As far as archaeology at the site of Salamis itself is concerned, extensive work was carried out under the direction of V. Karageorghis in the 1960s and early 1970s at the site of the town's necropolis. The extensive publication of the excavations has contributed greatly to our understanding of archaic and classical Salamis. The cemetery itself seems to be divided into two different areas: the area which houses the archaic 'Royal Tombs' and that of Cellarka which contains a number of burials less rich in contents and was used well into the fourth century. Unfortunately, the tombs at Cellarka pose a number of chronological problems since they were often reused over a long period of time.²³⁶

²³³ Dray & du Plat Taylor, p. 67.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

²³⁵ K. Nicolaou, 'Archaeology in Cyprus, 1969-76', *Arch. Rep.* for 1975-1976, 1976, pp. 47-48.

²³⁶ Karageorghis 1970, pp. 233-234.

Of the 61 identifiable coins published by Helly in his appendix to Karageorghis 1970, seven are fairly reliably attributable to King Evelthon or his successors; i.e. fractions with a ram's head obverse and either a smooth (Group B) or ankh reverse (Group D). In Karageorghis 1973, an additional seven coins of Evelthon were added to the list.

Four of these early silver fractions were found in Tomb 37 at Cellarka. All are of the lighter variety; four have a smooth reverse, while one has an ankh reverse. This last tomb was found intact and was dated on the evidence of the coins and ceramic material to the mid fifth century.²³⁷

The silver fraction (D.IX, no. 263) with the ankh with *ku* centre was found in Tomb 89 at Cellarka which, fortunately, still had its main chamber intact. The date of this tomb was also based partly on the evidence of the single coin, but was also strengthened by the evidence of the pottery which dated to the Cypro-Classical I period.²³⁸ Notably, the coin was found in the mouth of a skeleton. No doubt it was placed there deliberately as payment for Charon.²³⁹ Whether or not this was the intention for all our coins found at this burial site cannot be discerned.

The silver fraction with a smooth reverse was found in Tomb 60 at Cellarka. This tomb was also found intact but had the disadvantage of having been used during three different periods; thus the coins in this tomb had little chronological significance; the material overall dated to the Cypro-Classical I period.²⁴⁰

The fifth century coins (Group B, nos. 130b) found outside Cellarka, in Tomb 80, published in Karageorghis 1973, do not differ greatly from those listed above as there is a combination of both smooth and ankh reverse types.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-139.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

Unfortunately the tomb had been looted, even if the fill of the dromos was undisturbed. Although not much could be derived from the contents of the tomb due to past looting, the ornate decoration of the tomb walls and ceiling of this very different tomb are unique and point to an important burial. For the chronology, the excavators based their conclusions largely on the coin finds, along with the Egyptian influence in the interior decoration; thus they dated it to coincide with the Egyptian domination of Cyprus - the end of the Cypro-Archaic II to the beginning of the Cypro-Classical I period.²⁴¹ As noted above, however, this dating method is insecure, and it is possible that the tomb is slightly later than this period.

²⁴¹ Karageorghis 1973, pp. 124-127.

2.vii. Documentary Evidence

So far, only the direct numismatic material (the coins themselves, hoard evidence and iconographic significance) has been taken into account; one must also comment on the historical record. Analysis of the historical sources adds further evidence to questions regarding chronology, Salamis' fifth century economy and the autonomy of its ruling house.

Our sources for Cyprus during the late archaic and classical periods are indirect. What information we have about the political history of the island is gleaned because of its position as a principal settlement in the eastern Mediterranean, fought for between east and west. When the city kingdoms of Cyprus were not somehow involved with the struggle between Athens and Persia, the island is rarely, if ever, commented upon.

The most important ancient source for sixth and fifth century Cyprus is Herodotus. His main focus for the fifth century is of course the Persian Wars, and thus he ends his main narrative in approximately 478. His commentary on the sixth century should be looked upon with some suspicion as he is often writing nearly a century later than the events. What information he does provide, however, is invaluable as it reveals not only details of the island's relationship with Persia throughout the conflict, but includes specific detailed evidence of the Teucrid lineage.

Where Herodotus' narrative ends, Thucydides' commences, with his account of the Peloponnesian War, though terminating in 410. Unfortunately for our purposes, the years between the Persian conflict and Peloponnesian War are less well covered by either Herodotus or Thucydides.²⁴² Moreover Thucydides'

²⁴² See Meiggs, Appendix 1, pp. 445-446.

account of the relations between Athens and Persia ends mid century with the death of Cimon when peace may have been formalised between the two sides.²⁴³

Diodorus' account of fifth century history is based largely on that of his main source, the fourth century historian, Ephorus. Although the narrative of Diodorus may perhaps be relied upon more often than not, his chronology is often at fault. For our purposes, his main contribution is his account of Cimon's campaign in Cyprus in the late 450s.²⁴⁴

Plutarch is also very important to any fifth century history of Cyprus as one of his main sources was Ion of Chios, a contemporary of Cimon with seemingly close ties to the commander.²⁴⁵ Other sources are Xenophon's *Hellenica*, recounting the events of the last seven years of the Peloponnesian War and his *Cyropaedia*. Isocrates' fourth century anti-Persian accounts of the events of the later fifth century tend to be misleading, but at times valuable, regarding the years surrounding the birth of Evagoras I.²⁴⁶

King Evelthon was the first ruler to place his name on the coins at the mint of Salamis, but as there is no direct evidence for the dates of his reign, we have an immediate chronological hurdle to clear. Previous scholars' commentaries have been misleading on this point, with the traditional date for the beginning of his reign put at c. 569. The thinking behind such a date revolves around the approximate date at which Assyrian rule ended in Cyprus and Egyptian rule

²⁴³ On the Peace of Callias see E. Badian, 'Peace of Callias', *JHS* 107 (1987), pp. 1-31. The fact that Thucydides does not comment upon Persia again is in itself telling.

²⁴⁴ See Meiggs, p. 11 and Appendix 2; Also see W. Kolbe, 'Diodoros Wert für die Geschichte der Pentekontaetia', *Hermes* 1937, pp. 241-69.

²⁴⁵ Meiggs, p. 14; K.J. Dover, 'Ion of Chios: His Place in the History of Greek Literature', in J. Boardman and C.E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson (eds.), *Chios, A Conference at the Homereion in Chios* 1984, 1986, p. 32.

²⁴⁶ Maier, p. 33.

supposedly began,²⁴⁷ though some have put forward a later date, after the death of Nebuchadnezzar in 562.²⁴⁸

Herodotus (2.182, with Diod. 1.68) states that Amasis was the 'first conqueror of Cyprus, which he made tributary to himself'. The assumption of modern scholars has been that the change of power over Cyprus also ushered in a new local power on the throne of Salamis. Such thinking seems to be a traditional and common mistake, not only for this reign, but for others as well. However, this methodology has no basis; we shall see time and again throughout the history of the island, a change in overlord does not necessarily involve a change in local power.

Scholars have traditionally accepted that Egyptian rule in Cyprus lasted only twenty-five years.²⁴⁹ Herodotus²⁵⁰ claims that the kings of Cyprus joined Cambyses in his expedition against Egypt, thus placing the transfer of control before c. 525. An earlier date is championed by those relying on Xenophon's account of the Carian and Babylonian conflicts (datable to c. 538) in which he claims Cyprus was fighting on the side of the Persian King, Cyrus (c. 559-529²⁵¹).²⁵² Gjerstad, using archaeological, art historical, as well as literary evidence, dated the transfer of allegiance to c. 545.²⁵³

²⁴⁷ SCE IV, p. 467 and n. 3, for archaeological reasons and c. 569 as the date of the end of the reign of Apries.

²⁴⁸ Stylianou, p. 397, dates the take-over by Amasis to the early 550s.

²⁴⁹ See Reyes, p. 77 ff., for chronological arguments regarding the beginning of Egyptian domination.; CAH III, pt. 3, p. 69.

²⁵⁰ Hdt. 3.19, 'the Cypriots too had come of their own accord to aid the Persians against Egypt.'

²⁵¹ Cook, p. 25, c. 559.

²⁵² Xen. *Cyrop.*, 7.4.1-2 and 8.6.8, and three passages where he claims Cyprus to be among the lands ruled by Cyrus: 1.1.4, 8.6.21, 8.8.1.

²⁵³ SCE IV, p. 471, n. 3; V. Tatton-Brown, 'The Archaic Period', in D. Hunt (ed.), *Footprints in Cyprus*, 1982, p. 75; Hill 1940, p. 111; Stylianou, p. 397 and p. 413, n. 229, dates the Egyptian occupation from the early 550s to c. 545.

Gjerstad's widely accepted date of Cypriot surrender to Persia has been overturned by Watkin²⁵⁴ who argues against the validity of Xenophon's historical account of the reign of Cyrus. Watkin, moreover, cites Vermeule's valuable analysis of Cypriot sculpture, cautioning against tying in stylistic influences on Cypriot art with political transference of power.²⁵⁵ Thus 525 is our *terminus post quem* for Persian suzerainty in Cyprus.

When Darius came to the throne in 521, he reorganised regional government and placed the Cypriot kingdoms in the fifth satrapy along with Syria and Phoenicia.²⁵⁶ Although there has been debate over whether Cyprus was within the fifth satrapy or was simply a 'client kingdom', there can be no doubt that she would have been required to contribute the two basics, tribute and military support.²⁵⁷

Most importantly, however, Darius regulated annual tribute paid to the throne, thus curtailing much of the independence enjoyed under previous overlords, including Cambyses,²⁵⁸ as the Persian nobility began to lose power. J.M. Cook argues that this trend affected the individual powers of the once autonomous Cypriot kingdoms, and created a great deal of anti-Persian resistance.²⁵⁹ This seems unlikely, however, for the early years of Darius' reign,

²⁵⁴ H.J. Watkin, 'The Cypriote surrender to Persia', *JHS* 107 (1987), pp. 154-163, accepted by Reyes, p. 85. Reyes, p. 89, also supports the view that the change of allegiance was to ensure the island's continued prosperity rather than any violent usurpation of power.

²⁵⁵ Vermeule *AJA*, 1974, pp. 287-90.

²⁵⁶ Hdt. 3.89 and 91; Stylianou, suggests, pp. 411, 414, that Herodotus wrongly placed Cyprus in the fifth satrapy, based on the fact that 'the fourth satrapy, Cilicia, was not a satrapy but a client kingdom', according to Xen. *Cyrop.*, 7.4.1 ff. and 8.6.8; See also A.J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* VII, 1954, p. 582 ff.; and Burn, p. 109 ff.

²⁵⁷ Hdt. 3.89; It is clear that the predecessors of Darius, Cyrus and Cambyses, demanded loyalty through payment of tribute: Xen., *Cyrop.* 7.4.1f; 8.6.8, as opposed to Polyclitus 128 F3 and Plut., *Moralia* 172F and Polyaeus 7.11.3 which suggest his predecessors favoured an unregulated gift-giving system. See also Plutarch (summarising Lysanias) 861a-c: evidence of Cypriot military support for Persia before the Ionian revolt in 499 when the Persian fleet was fighting in the Pamphylian Sea and her squadrons were made up of Cypriot ships.

²⁵⁸ *CAH* III, pt. 3, p. 70; Hdt. 3.89.

²⁵⁹ Cook, pp. 53 and 57.

as Reyes has to my mind successfully argued that the local kingdoms retained most of their individual powers under Darius.²⁶⁰

With the exception of the Ionian/Cypriot revolt in the early years of the fifth century it is very difficult to find any anti-Persian sentiment on Cyprus. Clearly it was common practice for Persia to allow governments to continue ruling locally with a great deal of autonomy, as long as they were there when called upon, either for military purposes or for financial contributions through tribute. As long as these demands were not overbearing, circumstances must have been very attractive.²⁶¹ Most remarkably, there is no evidence for a local satrap in Cyprus, as there is in Phoenicia.²⁶² Thus we must assume that the local kings were left to rule without interference. Nonetheless, according to Herodotus (3.91), the fifth satrapy's tribute was set at 350 talents. This was a substantial sum and we can only guess at the affect it may have caused among the 'autonomous' kingdoms of Cyprus.

The lists at Persepolis on which 'Yauna' is listed, both of the Dry Land, In the Sea and 'Beyond the Sea' leave us in no doubt that Cyprus was under Persian control during the early years of Darius' reign. However, affairs in Egypt and closer to home kept him occupied in the east until 513/512 when he began moving against the Scythians.²⁶³

Our *terminus ante quem* for the reign of Evelthon comes from Herodotus, where Evelthon, King of Salamis, is mentioned for the first time:

Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus and Pheretime, would not abide by the ordinances of Demonax, but demanded back the prerogative of his forefathers, and made himself head of the faction; but he was worsted

²⁶⁰ Reyes, pp. 90-91.

²⁶¹ Hornblower, p. 18.

²⁶² Stylianou, p. 415, based on Xen., Anal., 7.8.25.

²⁶³ Cook, p. 59.

and banished to Samos, and his mother fled to Salamis who dedicated that marvellous censer at Delphi which stands in the treasury of the Corinthians. To him Pheretime came, asking him for an army which should bring her and her son back to Cyrene; but Evelthon being willing to give her all else, only not an army, when she took what he gave her she said that this was well, but it were better to give her an army at her request. This she would still say, whatever was the gift; at the last Evelthon sent her a golden spindle and distaff, and wool therewith; and Pheretime uttering the same words as before, he answered that these, and not armies, were gifts for women. (Hdt. 4.162; trans. Loeb)

Queen Pheretime's rejected plea has been traditionally dated to c. 530.²⁶⁴ A much later date for this event has been argued by Mitchell,²⁶⁵ who rightly adopts a date of c. 518/17, which places the continuation of Evelthon's reign much later than previous scholars had assumed. This is of interest as Evelthon could have been put on, and certainly remained on the throne during Darius' rule.

Not only is this passage important to the historian chronologically, it is also a clear indication of the amount of freedom Evelthon was able to hold in regard to his own foreign policy.²⁶⁶ There is certainly evidence to suggest that both Egypt and Persia allowed the local Cypriot rulers to conduct local affairs as they saw fit.²⁶⁷ It must be noted, however, that when previous scholars had used this particular piece of evidence to argue for the autonomy of Evelthon it was under the assumption that it occurred during the rule of Cyrus. As Queen Pheretime's plea should now be placed in the reign of Darius, one cannot place so much emphasis on the curtailing of local power by him.

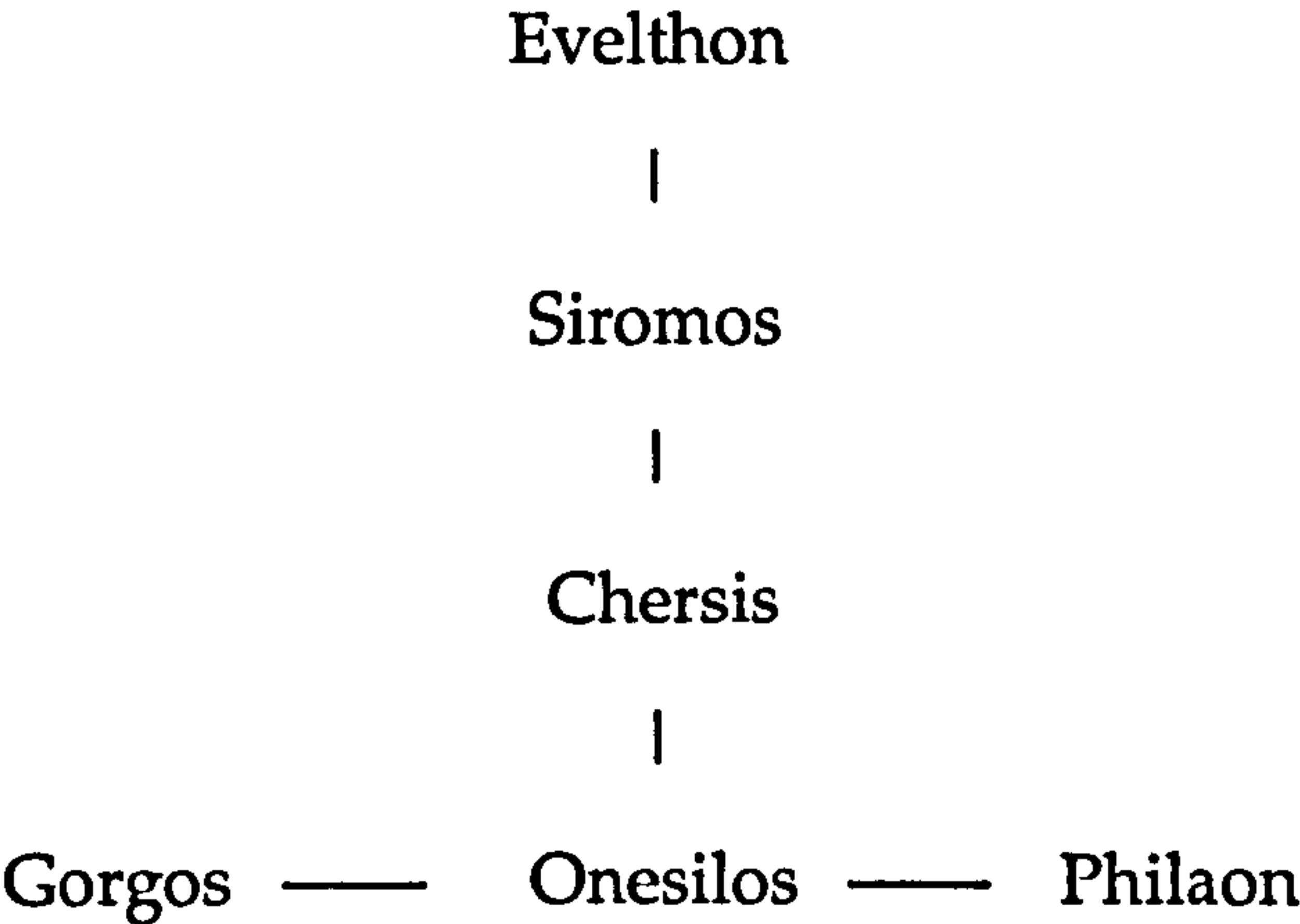
²⁶⁴ Polyaeus 8.47; Hill 1940, p. 115; F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Batiades*, 1953, p. 151.

²⁶⁵ Mitchell, p. 101 and n. 14.

²⁶⁶ CAH III, pt. 3, p. 69.

²⁶⁷ Reyes, pp. 77-78.

The next we hear of Salamis and its ruling family is in reference to the Ionian revolt in 499. In book 5.104, Herodotus relates the family tree of the Teucrid dynasty from Evelthon to Onesilos. He claims that Onesilos was the younger brother of Gorgos and that Gorgos was the King of Salamis at the beginning of the Ionian revolt. He further states that Chersis was the father of Gorgos and Onesilos. The father of Chersis was Siromos who was the son of Evelthon.



Chronologically such a lineage raises a number of questions. If Mitchell is correct in keeping Evelthon on the throne of Salamis as late as 518/17, then within a very short space of twenty years four generations of Teucrids ruled at Salamis. One must note, however, that there is nothing in the text that suggests that Chersis or Siromos ever occupied the throne.²⁶⁸

Some scholars have suggested that Herodotus was mistaken in his inclusion of Siromos in the family tree, as the name is equivalent to that of Hiram, king of Tyre c. 550-30,²⁶⁹ though it has also been suggested that the birth

²⁶⁸ R.W. Macan, *The Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books*, i, 1895, p. 254.

²⁶⁹ W.W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, ii 1912, pp. 60-61 on 5.104; Mitchell, p. 101, n. 14; See also M. Sznycer, 'Salamine et les Phéniciens', *Salamine de Chypre: Histoire et Archéologie*, 1980, p. 126, n. 13 who corrects the spelling to Eiromos.

of Siromos was the result of a marriage alliance between Evelthon and a Tyrian.²⁷⁰

Luckily, Herodotus' account of the Ionian revolt in relation to Cyprus is very informative (Hdt. 5.104-105, 108-15). Having heard that Sardis had fallen, Onesilos attempted to persuade his brother Gorgos, the current King, to join in the revolt against the Persians. Gorgos, however, remained loyal to the Great King and refused his brother's pleas. Onesilos reacted by seizing the throne from his brother, who subsequently fled to Persia in exile. Onesilos was then apparently successful in rallying all the Cypriot kingdoms to his side, with the curious exception of Amathus; although there must also be doubt as to the likelihood of Citium joining as well.²⁷¹

With the help of strong naval reinforcements from Ionia, the Greek-speaking Cypriot contingent was able to defeat the Phoenicians in a sea battle, but Onesilos was defeated on land. Onesilos died in battle and the gates of Salamis were reopened for Gorgos to retake his position as King. The Persians (presumably with the help of Gorgos) proceeded to reduce the other kingdoms of the island bringing them back under Persian control.²⁷² By 494, a Cypriot fleet was fighting on the Persian side at the battle of Lade.²⁷³

We may assume that Gorgos remained on the throne, uninterrupted, for at least twenty years after the revolt as he was the commander in charge of the

²⁷⁰ Stylianou, p. 409, seems to accept the authenticity of the Herodotean family tree.

²⁷¹ Stylianou, p. 421; Burn, p. 202; Beloch, II, 1, p. 11 and n. 4.

²⁷² Hdt. 5.115-116; see Diod. 11.44.2 on garrisons; For evidence of a possible Persian garrison built at Paphos see J. Schäfer, 'Ein "Perserbau" in Altpaphos?', *Opusc. Athen.*, 3 (1960), pp. 155-175.

²⁷³ Hdt. 6.6; Stylianou, p. 434, in his attempt to re-champion the traditional view of anti-Persian feeling in the island during the 5th century says "The first test of the islanders' loyalty came in 494 when they were forced to fight side-by-side with the hated Phoenicians against their fellow Greeks of Ionia." While there is no doubt that some recent proponents of peaceful Greek-Phoenician relations in Cyprus have taken the evidence too far, Stylianou's assumption that these troops were 'forced to fight the hated Phoenicians' has an air of special pleading.

quite substantial Cypriot contingent of Xerxes' fleet in 480.²⁷⁴ Darius attempted to move the borders of his empire westward, with little success, in 492 and 490 (Hdt. 6.43 ff., 6.94 ff.). However, the main advance on to Greek soil took place in 480/79 under Xerxes, when Herodotus (7.89-90, 7.98, 195, 8.68, 100) is again invaluable with information regarding Cypriot participation. The combined kingdoms of Cyprus contributed 150 ships to the Persian expedition, and their commander was Gorgos, the king of Salamis. Herodotus (8.11) adds another name to the Teucrid lineage here mentioning another younger brother of Gorgos by the name of Philaon, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Artemisium.

After the battle of Salamis we do not hear of Gorgos again. The ensuing backlash after the Persian defeat at Salamis is, however, important to our narrative, our source now mainly being Thucydides. As the Persians retreated eastwards (Hdt. 8.107.1, 9.96.1 and Diod. 11.1.4 and 12.3, 19), the Greeks swiftly gave chase (resulting in the Persian naval defeat at the battle of Mycale, Hdt. 9.90, 96-101); in 478 the allied fleet set sail with Pausanias in command, and the destination was Cyprus. Control of Cyprus was no doubt fundamental to the maintenance of sea power in the eastern Greek world.²⁷⁵ According to Thucydides, they 'reduced the greater part of the island'.²⁷⁶ Diodorus, using Ephorus as his source, put a slightly different slant on the victory stating that Pausanias 'liberated those cities which still had Persian garrisons (Diod. 11.44.1-

²⁷⁴ V. Tatton-Brown, 'The Archaic Period', *Footprints in Cyprus*, 1982, p. 92 states that they 'reluctantly contributed ships.'

²⁷⁵ Gomme, p. 271; *ATL*, p. 208; N.G.L. Hammond, 'Origins and Nature of the Athenian Alliance', *JHS* 87 (1967), p. 47; R. Seager & C.J. Tuplin, 'The freedom of the Greeks in Asia', *JHS* 100 (1980), p. 152; Stylianou, p. 439, argues that there must have been an indication of Cypriot support for the allied forces, stating that 'Salamis, Soloi and Paphos would be likely candidates for anti-Persian action in view of their leading role in the rebellion of 498.' This assumption is totally unwarranted as there is no indication that the pro-Persian commander, Gorgos, had been relieved of his throne.

²⁷⁶ Thuc. 1.94 uses the very strong word 'κατεστρεφοντο' leading one to believe that there was indeed great opposition on the island; Stylianou, p. 439 argues that this is 'misleading'; Also Justin II, 14.16; Plut. *Arist.* 23, cf. *Cim.* 6.

2), hence suggesting that the allied goal was not to conquer but to free fellow Greeks from the enemy. The motivation of the allied forces will be discussed further below.

It seems that Pausanias left too soon for the Hellespont, since the Persians eventually regained control of Cyprus. Hill suggests that the Persians remained in control of the island for at least ten years, because in 468²⁷⁷ a fleet of eighty Persian-controlled ships were based on Cyprus. This fleet was subsequently defeated by Cimon off the Cilician coast after his victory at Eurymedon.²⁷⁸ The weakness in Hill's argument is that we do not know if the fleet was made up of Phoenician or of Cypriot triremes;²⁷⁹ according to Plutarch (*Cimon*, 13) they were Phoenician and according to Polyaeus (1.34.), Cypriot. If this was a Phoenician fleet, it is quite likely that it was based solely at Citium, which weakens the argument that the entire island was under Persian control in 468.²⁸⁰

Aeschylus, *Persae* (891-2), refers to Salamis directly when he portrays the Persians lamenting the loss of the city to the Greeks after the battle of Salamis. As the play was performed only six years after the event, it may be safe to assume that Salamis remained free of Persian control as late as 472. It is doubtful that Aeschylus would have included Salamis among Persian losses if it had subsequently fallen back under Persian control.

By 465, however, Cimon and his fleet were far from Cyprus, in Thasos, crushing a crucial allied revolt.²⁸¹ The urgency of dealing with this revolt has

²⁷⁷ Or 466 as dated by Maier, *CAH V*, 2nd. ed., p. 308; Hill 1940, p. 121; Meiggs, p. 20, states that the battle could not be earlier than 469.

²⁷⁸ Plut. *Cim.*, 12-13; Ephorus *FGH*, 70 F 192; Diod. 11.60, 5-6; Polyaeus 1.34; Thuc. 1.100.1; *P. Oxy.* 13.1610.

²⁷⁹ Hill 1940, p. 121, n. 4.

²⁸⁰ Stylianou, p. 452, states that the ships were 'doubtless from Kition, their forward base in the eastern Mediterranean'.

²⁸¹ Hornblower, pp. 34-35; Plut. *Cim.*, 14.1.

often been cited as the reason why Cimon did not take immediate action in Cyprus after the battle of Eurymedon.²⁸² On the contrary, the very fact that Cimon did not return to Cyprus after his victory might rather lead one to believe that at least part of the island, presumably the 'pro-Hellenic' factions, was at the time free from Persian control and therefore not in need of Cimon's attention.²⁸³

Although there is no direct evidence, the years between 478 and 468 were undoubtedly important in Cypriot history as this was the time of the formation of the Delian League. Thucydides tells us that the aim of the members of the League was to exact reparation for what they had suffered, by ravaging the Persian King's land (1.96.1) and that the allies rallied under Athenian command by contributing either money or ships. Of course revenge may not have been the only motive, as the building of an empire may have been part of the plan (if not initially, it was soon to follow).²⁸⁴ Herodotus tells us that the aim was 'to unite against Persia the whole of the Greek world' (7.145.2). Certainly, Thucydides speaks of liberating the eastern Greeks from the Medes (3.10.4), but one must question Athenian aims in Cyprus.

All discussions as to whether or not Cyprus entered the Delian League at this early stage²⁸⁵ are flawed in that they treat Cyprus as a single political unit. As with mainland Greece, the Ionian states and the rest of the Greek world, Cyprus was never a coherent political unit and certainly should not be so treated in the fifth century, since it sustained clear pockets of Persian sympathisers – Amathus possibly (as seen during the Ionian Revolt) and certainly Citium.²⁸⁶

²⁸² Meiggs, p. 79.

²⁸³ Meiggs, p. 57, suggests this in regard to the assessment lists of the League, see below.

²⁸⁴ Hornblower, p. 26.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁸⁶ SCE IV, p. 459, goes so far as to refer to the island as a 'country'.

As Cyprus was the first destination of the League forces after the battle of Mycale (479-478), and 'most of the island was reduced,'²⁸⁷ then it seems quite likely that many of the traditionally 'Hellenic' kingdoms on the island would have joined the League in 477.²⁸⁸ They would have done so separately, however, and not under a 'Cypriot aegis', as it would have been quite unlikely that Phoenician Citium would have already been reduced by Pausanias or persuaded to join the League against Persia. Although the Cypriot kingdoms, being ruled by dynasts, may not have exactly fitted the mould of the Aegean Greek city-states, there was certainly precedence for tolerance on the part of the League, as many Carian and Ionian oligarchies and dynasties were later included in the tribute lists.²⁸⁹

Meiggs cites two arguments against the inclusion of Cyprus: 1) that Cyprus was too far east for Athens to control and 2) that the history of the island between 478 and 450 shows that they did not.²⁹⁰ Neither argument stands firm, however, especially when we look upon the cities as self-contained kingdoms. Against the first argument, there is the assessment of 425-424²⁹¹ which lists a number of cities along the south-eastern coast of Asia Minor, including Cilician Celenderis and Aspendus in Pamphylia.²⁹² Moreover, one place which may be added to the list is located even further east – Dorus, perhaps in Palestine.²⁹³ It is presumed that these cities were not listed among those paying in the assessment

²⁸⁷ See p. 213.

²⁸⁸ Those in agreement include: U. Willamowitz Moellendorff, *Aischylos: Interpretationen*, 1914, p. 47, n. 1 and N.G.L. Hammond, 'Origins and Nature of the Athenian Alliance', *JHS* 87 (1967), p. 48; Stylianos, p. 442, may go too far: 'not only were the Greek cities of Cyprus members of the Delian League, but were founding members of it'.

²⁸⁹ Hornblower, p. 29.

²⁹⁰ Meiggs, p. 56.

²⁹¹ For discussion of the 425 Assessment, see Meiggs, p. 329 ff.

²⁹² ML 69 = IG i(2).63.

²⁹³ Meiggs, Appendix 7, pp. 420-421.

period 454-450 as they more than likely were abandoned by the League after the expedition to Egypt probably in 454.²⁹⁴

Although none of the Cypriot cities are found in these lists, nor in any assessment, it could be argued that their fragmentary nature may account for the absence.²⁹⁵ It has further been argued that the kingdoms of Cyprus would have been ship-building contributors to the League and thus would not have been listed as those contributing money.²⁹⁶ One might add here that the standard upon which the cities of Cyprus, including Salamis, struck their coinage never changed from the Persian throughout the fifth century. It seems likely that if Salamis was paying tribute to Athens (or Delos) they would have been required, or at least would have found it more convenient, to convert their currency to the Attic standard.

The most compelling and straight-forward argument is, however, often overlooked. There are no lists existing before the Egyptian expedition perhaps in 454, and it is clear from the allied action on the island around that time that many of the kingdoms were by then firmly under Persian control. Thus the kingdoms of Cyprus would not have been found on any list dating to the middle of the century.

The famous inscription listing members of the Erechtheid tribe who were killed in battle is our next point of reference for the allied action in Cyprus. The memorial states "....died in battle in Cyprus, in Egypt, in Phoenicia, at Halieis, on Aegina, at Megara in the same year."²⁹⁷ The inscription refers, in part, to a

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 330 and Stylianos, p. 443.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57 and Stylianos, p. 443; For arguments against see J. Pouilloux, 'Athènes et Salamine de Chypre', *RDAC* 1975, p. 116.

²⁹⁶ Thuc. 1.96; Gomme, p. 272, p. 285 f.; Meiggs, p. 118f; Stylianos, p. 444.

²⁹⁷ IG i(2).929 = ML 33.

squadron in Cyprus in 459/8,²⁹⁸ the first years of the Peloponnesian War, under the command of Charitimides. Why they were in Cyprus at the time is somewhat unclear, although it is more than likely they were yet again attempting to take control of the critical position in the eastern Mediterranean. Thucydides (1.104) tells us that the Athenians were in Cyprus 'on an expedition with two hundred ships of their own and of their allies'. The reason they left Cyprus is clearer: they were called to Egypt to assist Inaros in his revolt against the new Persian King, Artaxerxes I (465-424).²⁹⁹

Whether or not Salamis was under Persian control before or immediately after 459 is unclear. As with the state of affairs in 468, one should not assume³⁰⁰ that the island was somehow relieved of Persian control in and around 459 simply because allies from the Greek mainland lost their lives on Cyprus at that time. It is safer to maintain that parts of Cyprus were under Persian control by 456, since a contingent of the Persian fleet was assembled in Cyprus for the invasion of Egypt (Diod. 11.75.2). It is even safer to assume that the allies had lost all control of Cyprus by the summer of 454 after their disastrous defeat in Egypt.³⁰¹ Meiggs has suggested that this is the time when many of the eastern states, e.g. Dorus in Palestine, were incorporated into the League as the casualty list mentions action in Phoenicia.³⁰²

For at least part of the island, the pendulum does swing back sometime during or before 450/49³⁰³ when Athenian and allied squadrons were again

²⁹⁸ Maier, *CAH* V, 2nd ed., p. 308, dates the inscription to 460/59 or 459/58; Meiggs, Appendix 2, p. 456 rightly argues that the Cypriot campaign must have been in 458 rather than 459; *ATL*, p. 174 f.

²⁹⁹ Thuc. 1.104, 109-110; Isoc. *On the Peace*, 86; Diod. 11.71.3-6, 74-75, 77; Ctesias, 63-7.

³⁰⁰ As Hill 1940 seems to do, p. 122.

³⁰¹ Ctesias 33-34; Diod. 11.77.1 and 4, 5; Thuc. 1.109-110.1.

³⁰² Meiggs, p. 102; *ATL*, p. 174 f.

³⁰³ Meiggs, Appendix 2, p. 456, dates the expedition to 451.

stationed on Cyprus, this time under the command of Cimon and Anaxicrates.³⁰⁴ Plutarch even goes so far as to say that 'Cimon recovered the cities in the neighbourhood' (Plut. *Cimon* 18.5). Salamis was at least one of the exceptions, however, as it was by that time occupied by a Persian garrison.

Thucydides (1.112) relates that Citium (Salamis, according to Pseudo-Aristodemus³⁰⁵) held out against Cimon's forces, and that Cimon died (451/50)³⁰⁶ before he was able to take the city. The battle that ensued off the coast and on the land around Salamis, saw the death of the second commander Anaxicrates, thus forcing the allies to retreat from Cyprus for good.³⁰⁷

This probable loss of Cyprus as an Athenian battle ground could have resulted in the Peace of Callias. The arguments surrounding the legitimacy for the Peace dated in 449 are lengthy and well documented.³⁰⁸ For our purposes, whether or not a formal peace was made between Athens and Persia at this time³⁰⁹ is somewhat irrelevant. However, the lack of Athenian intervention from this point on is important. Cyprus was one, if not the most pivotal, of territories lost by Athens and conceded to Persia.³¹⁰ For a half a century the control of Cyprus seemed to be a paramount priority for Athens, as no less than four attempts were made to secure its kingdoms for either sentimental or military reasons. After the death of Cimon, however, and the westward retreat of his forces, Athenians never again fought on Cypriot soil.

³⁰⁴ Thuc. 1.112.2-4; Plut. *Cim.*, 18-19; Diod. 12.3-4 - although it should be noted that Diodorus' account is confused and unreliable (capture of Marium and Citium rejected); For discussion see Meiggs, pp. 127-28.

³⁰⁵ FHG v, p. 15, xiii.

³⁰⁶ Meiggs, pp. 124-125.

³⁰⁷ Diod. 12.3-4 (Ephorus) and Aelius Aristides ii, p. 209; Thuc. 1.112, 1-4; Isoc. *On the Peace*, 86.

³⁰⁸ Meiggs, pp. 129 ff. and Appendix 8.

³⁰⁹ E. Badian, 'Peace of Callias', *JHS* 107 (1987), pp. 1-31, dates the Peace to the 460s.

³¹⁰ For the terms see Diod. 12.4.5.

As Cimon was unable to retake Salamis before his death,³¹¹ repercussions from Athens' departure from the region were likely to be minimal as far as Salamis was concerned. It is interesting to note, however, that there is an indication that within the terms of the Peace there was a clause protecting the Greek cities now lost to Athens from punishment from Persia.³¹² Meiggs takes this to mean that Athens required Persia to let the Greek cities now under her power continue with the *status quo*, i.e. tribute and autonomy, at the time before Athenian intervention. In other words it can be assumed that Salamis was again left to her own devices as long as tribute was paid to the Great King.³¹³ Salamis was never surrendered by the Athenians as it was never retaken.

Hill stated that Cyprus now 'fell immediately and completely under the Persian yoke'.³¹⁴ While there is no doubt that there was allied activity on the island between the time of the battle of Salamis in 480 and the middle of the century, there is no direct evidence to suggest that Salamis was ever in the hands of the allies during this period. The only textual evidence we have is from Diodorus, informing us of Persian garrisons at Salamis during Cimon's siege of the city. As we have seen, however, it is safe to assume that Salamis was freed from Persian rule after Pausanias' expedition of 478. We further postulate that the city remained free of Persian domination as late as 472 when Salamis was directly referred to by Aeschylus as being lost by Persia. Thus sometime between 472 and 450 Salamis once again fell under Persian control as it was host to a Persian garrison by mid century. The best guess for the change of power is

³¹¹ Diod. 12.4; Stylianou, p. 455 claims that Diodorus has confused Salamis for Citium in xii.4.1-4 thus concluding that Salamis and Marium were captured by Cimon, but Citium was only besieged.

³¹² Meiggs, pp. 147-148; Isoc. *Paneg.*, 4.120: 'in that earlier peace we stipulated the assessments of some of its tributes.'

³¹³ See also Stylianou, p. 447, though he goes too far on pp. 449-451 when he asserts that some Cypriot cities remained within the League and were only lost in the 440s.

³¹⁴ Hill 1940, p. 125.

likely to be in the 450s when Athenian power was severely depleted in the east after defeat in Egypt.

Although in the second half of the century Cyprus was under Persian rule, there is nothing to suggest that it was not a peaceful period in the island's history. Thus, as a consequence, the opportunity for foreign imports was probably greater, even if they came from the west.³¹⁵ Interaction with the west was certainly quite strong in Egypt in the second half of the century, as is attested by Herodotus (3.6.1, 2.39.2), and there can be little doubt that the situation in Cyprus was similar, as archaeology has shown.³¹⁶

Artaxerxes reign ended in 424 and he was succeeded by that of Darius II;³¹⁷ whether or not this change in power had any effect on Cyprus is unknown. Until the rise of power of Evagoras I at the end of the fifth century, there is little to be commented upon regarding the history of the city as the sources are silent.

With the resurrection of the Teucrid dynasty under Evagoras I, this chapter in the history of Salamis comes to an end. The chronology of this take-over will be argued in Chapter Three, but for our purposes now, we know that Evagoras was in power by 411.

³¹⁵ Meiggs, p. 255 ff. and 267 ff., warfare adversely affected trade before 449, the Peace of Callias precisely opposite effect.

³¹⁶ L. Jehasse, 'La céramique attique a figures rouges de Salamine', *Salamine de Chypre, Histoire et Archéologie*, 1980, p. 215 ff.; C.M. Robertson, 'The Attic Black-Figure and Red-Figure Pottery', *Kition IV*, 1981, p. 51 ff.; F.G. Maier and V. Karagheorghis, *Paphos*, 1984, p. 217 f.; J.F. Salles, 'Les égouts de ville classique', *Kition-Bamboula II*, 1983, p. 58. The first half of the fifth century saw a decline in the amount of imported Attic pottery, but increased heavily in the second half.; see also Hill 1940, p. 126, n. 4; *BCH xci* (1967), p. 325; J. Pouilloux, 'Athènes et Salamine de Chypre', *RDAC* 1975, pp. 115-117.

³¹⁷ Lewis, p. 69 ff.

2.viii Summary Conclusions: Late Sixth and Fifth Centuries

This study of the early coins of Salamis, together with the hoard and documentary evidence has revealed a number of different stages in the coinage's evolution in the late sixth and fifth centuries. Several stages can be linked to particular generations of rulers, while other groups must be categorised without a recognised issuing authority. These groups, in relevant chronological order are as follows³¹⁸:

- A. Unknown authority: uninscribed / smooth
- B. King Evelthon: nominative Evelthon / smooth
- C. King ... noki ... : ... *no-ki*... / smooth
- E. King Mo...: nominative Evelthon / ram's head *mo*...
- D.I. Unknown authority: nominative? Evelthon / ankh
- D.II. Unknown authority: nominative Evelthon / ankh
- D.IV-VII. Unknown authority: genitive Evelthon / ankh (*ki*, *ke*, and *ko-ru*)
- F. King Phausis: Evelthon (and Phausis) / ankh Phausis
- G. Unknown authority: illegible inscription / *ba ankh u sa*
- H. King Timile?: *ti-mi-le* / *ba ankh te*
- I. King Nikodamos: genitive Evelthon (and Nikodamos) / ankh
- J. King Evanthes: Evanthes / ram's head

³¹⁸ Earlier attempts at a chronology for the sixth and fifth century coinage ranged greatly. Certainly, Six, Babelon, and Hill drew many conclusions without considering the hoard evidence. It must be said, however, that many of Hill's conclusions seem quite accurate. Six's chronology, however, should not be considered accurate.

The three most effective criteria to determine a relative chronology for these groups are 1) the hoard evidence, 2) the documentary evidence, and 3) the comparison of fabrics.

Unlike other Cypriot mints which exhibit a much clearer progression of issues in fifth century hoards (i.e. Citium), the hoard evidence for the mint of Salamis is not always as forthcoming as one would hope. While there are obvious conclusions to be drawn regarding the commencement of certain series, the opposite seems to be true regarding their cessation. There is no doubt that some hoards of the later fifth century were assembled over a long period of time and thus are of little help in dating particular rare issues.

It is not easy to assess what events known from the literary testimony may be reflected in the numismatic material. No doubt one or more was a catalyst for change in a reigning monarch or the types or volume of coins issued during a certain period. Unfortunately, however, there are no direct literary references to any shifts in internal power, with the minor exception of the reign of Gorgos. One must, therefore, speculate and suggest possible events which may have led to the formation, development and changes within the mint of Salamis.

In the end, for some series it is necessary to base the chronology on the fabric alone and the coinage of Salamis from the late sixth through the fifth centuries at times lends itself well to this methodology.³¹⁹ Yet pitfalls are not lacking, as with the other two criteria, and one must be cautious. Indeed fabric studies of other mints, such as Athens in the early fifth century, have led to erroneous conclusions when assumptions were made based on the archaic nature of a certain series.³²⁰ There is no doubt here, that unknown forces could have forced the mint of Salamis to deviate from the apparent evolution in refinement of striking.

³¹⁹ The methodology works for other early mints as well, in particular Paphos: see Destrooper-Georgiades, 1984, p. 149.

³²⁰ See Kraay's reclassification of Athenian owls: Kraay 1956.

A. Unknown Authority:
uninscribed ram / smooth

and

B. King Evelthon:
nominative Evelthon ram / smooth

Although few specimens have as yet come to light, this study has shown that the uninscribed coinage (Group A) with a ram obverse and smooth reverse, is a separate issue which should be considered as an independent phase in the series produced at Salamis.

As stated previously, the extant hoard evidence clearly shows that the inscribed coinage of Evelthon (Group B) was in circulation for a much longer period of time than its rarer uninscribed counterpart. Group A appears in only the earliest of hoards dating no later than c. 475 (Asyut Hoard which contains Cypriot material of a much earlier date than burial would suggest), while the earliest inscribed issues, Group B, appear in hoards dating as late as c. 425. The condition of the uninscribed specimens also attest their early date. Moreover, not only are the extant examples quite worn, but the flans themselves are small, oval, thick and crude. There is little doubt that Group A was the first phase in the ram obverse, smooth reverse issues.

Unfortunately the die study of Group A has led to more questions than answers. There are no discernible die duplicates or links among the known specimens, though this conclusion is very dangerous due to the very poor condition of the known specimens. But, there is the possibility that this group was much larger than the number of known examples suggests.

The known hoards demonstrate that the first coinage of Salamis could have been minted as early as the third quarter of the sixth century, as many of

the specimens in the earliest hoards are in very poor condition, and thus were likely to have been in circulation for some time. This is nowhere more evident than with the coins from the Asia Minor Hoard (H.4) which dates no later than 500.

Hoard evidence further proves that the issues with a smooth reverse (Groups A, B and C), precede those with an ankh reverse. A comparison between the Asyut and Larnaca material offers the strongest evidence for this conclusion, as the earlier Asyut Hoard has no ankh reverse types (Group D) while the Larnaca contained at least 15, including some with a nominative inscription (D.II).

In terms of fabric, the coins of Group B are slightly larger and the flans slightly neater than Group A, thus strengthening the argument that the uninscribed group is the earliest.

As the *terminus post quem* for the shift of Cypriot loyalty to Persia can now be dated to c. 525 (see p. 206) and, as it is now clear that Salaminian coinage was introduced in the third quarter of the fifth century, it is superficially tempting to assume that the two events were linked. Although Cambyses is known to have had a relaxed attitude toward Cyprus, there can be little doubt that he exacted tribute from the Cypriot kingdoms (see p. 206). This theory is, however, very problematic as it is clear that the spread of coinage was an essentially Greek phenomenon which did not spread into the heart of the Persian administrative system. While the majority of the Persian satrapies had non-coin based economies, they nevertheless were tributary to the Great King. Thus it is difficult to assume that the Empire required its western territories to pay in coinage.

As the hoard evidence strengthens the assumption that the uninscribed smooth reverse staters (Group A) predate those with inscriptions, one must look at the documentary evidence further to suggest a date for the commencement of the inscribed Group B. Contrary to earlier studies, Evelthon's reign can now be

dated as late as 518/17 (see p. 209) and it must be stressed that there is no evidence for any other power on the throne until we hear of King Gorgos and his actions in relation to the Ionian revolt of 499 (see p. 210 ff.). The possibility that Evelthon reigned as late as the last decade of the sixth century cannot, therefore, be dismissed.

These chronological conclusions place new light on the earliest groups of coins. The first inscribed coins, Group B, bear the name of Evelthon in the nominative case. The hoard evidence shows that these coins were in circulation by the last two decades of the sixth century, thus making these coins contemporary with what we now believe to be a more firm date at which we can place Evelthon, 518/17. As we have also accepted the uninscribed issues, Group A, to be an earlier issue, one may also posit that this rare series may represent an issue produced prior to the reign of Evelthon himself.

This conclusion dramatically alters recent suggestions that the coins produced under the name of Evelthon were all posthumous.³²¹ While the hoard evidence, especially that of Asyut and Larnaca, has rightly suggested lowering the dates of some Cypriot issues from the mid sixth century to the early fifth,³²² neither study has addressed the actual dates of the reign of Evelthon himself, nor did they incorporate hoard evidence which is clearly a quarter of a century earlier than both Asyut and Larnaca. From the evidence compiled here, there is every reason to suggest that the coins inscribed with the name of Evelthon in the nominative case and smooth reverse (Group B) are contemporary with his reign, as the inscription suggests.

If there was indeed an unknown Salaminian ruler producing Group A coins in the third quarter of the sixth century, perhaps the throne changed hands

³²¹ Kagan, p. 31; Hill (*BMC*) had dated the earliest coinage to Evelthon as well.; arguments dating the earliest Salaminian coinage to later successors were put forward by Price and Waggoner in *Asyut*, p. 108.

³²² *Asyut*, p. 104 ff.

after this date and before c. 518 (*terminus ante quem* for Evelthon). One possibility could be 521 - the date of the ascension of Darius I of Persia (see p. 207). As we have seen, Darius' attitude toward his territories is somewhat contradictory. On the one hand he reorganised the satrapies and standardised the tributes paid. On the other hand, there is no evidence for any satrap stationed in Cyprus, and certainly no evidence for garrisons until after the Ionian Revolt. Could it not be the case that part of Darius' reorganisation included a change on the Salaminian throne?

Now that the relevant chronology of the earliest Salaminian coins has been discussed, one further question must be addressed: was Salamis the first Cypriot mint to open? Hoard evidence clearly shows that except for the Persepolis Deposit, Ras Shamra (H.1) is the earliest datable hoard to contain coins of Cyprus; and Ras Shamra, along with several other hoards dating to c. 500 include no other Cypriot issues. Table 2.v.1 clearly shows the hoards which can be dated prior to Larnaca (c. 470) contain on the whole mostly coins of Salamis.

Other Cypriot mints that were clearly in production in the sixth century are as follows:

by c. 515, Persepolis Hoard:

Lapethus (Schmidt, no. 39)

Paphos (Schmidt, no. 38)³²³

Uncertain: lion series (Schmidt, no. 37)

by c. 500, Demanhur Hoard:

Uncertain: winged gorgon/winged bull forepart

³²³ The fact that this Paphian series was indeed quite early is strengthened by the fact that at least one specimen with the eagle's head and palmette reverse (could be more) was overstruck by a Salaminian nominative/smooth reverse (no. 44c). See Robinson 1935, pp. 184-185.

by c. 500, Adana Hoard:

Uncertain: boar and lion foreparts/ solar disk

by c. 500, Asia Minor:

Citium? lion lying/smooth

by c. 490, Fayum:

Idalium

While there is no clear evidence that Salamis was the first Cypriot mint in production, some conclusions can be drawn, especially with regard to inscriptions. While it is assumed that contemporary Cypriots would have identified the sometimes baffling uncertain types with particular Cypriot kingdoms, Salamis is the first to identify its issuing authority by placing the full name of Evelthon on its coins. From the evidence of the extant coins available for study, all other sixth century inscriptions are either severely abbreviated (Paphos and many of the uncertain issues) or possibly wholly uninscribed (Lapethus?).

Furthermore, the hoard evidence also reveals that if Salamis was not the earliest mint to produce coins, it was certainly the most productive, at least until c. 470.

Standard

The fact that the Persian standard was adopted in Cyprus for the local currency should not come as a surprise. The Persian standard was already in use in Lydia and there is no doubt that trade routes and political relations between southern Asia Minor and Cyprus. These relations must have been paramount in

influencing the Cypriot system as it is clear that other systems were known. The hoard evidence clearly shows that the earliest Cypriot coins circulated alongside a number of the Thraco-Macedonian varieties, including Stagira, Abdera and 'Lete'. Coins of Asia Minor are rare in the earliest hoards and only begin to appear in any number after c. 500. As these heavy Thraco-Macedonian coins were surely well-known and abundant in the East Greek world at the end of the sixth century, it may be noted that the practice of coining octadrachms and tetradrachms like those of Abdera, Thasos and Lete did not influence the local system.

One other early weight standard that may have been known to the Cypriots and was surely in use in the second half of the sixth century is that of Lycia. There is no doubt that Lycian coinage influenced certain early Cypriot types with a boar or lion forepart and incuse punch reverse. The weight system, however, which was unique to Lycia (c. 9.5 g. stater) seemed not to influence its neighbours. Lycia was not under tight Persian control until c. 480 and thus the use of the Persian weight system may not have been thought necessary.³²⁴

Thus, the adoption of the Persian weight system must have been influenced by factors other than mere exposure to contemporary systems. As Cypriot coinage began during Persian rule, it is quite possible that the need to pay tribute was the impetus for the early use of a monetary system on the island of Cyprus.³²⁵ The fact that there is no natural source of silver on the island would also lead one to suspect that coinage was only introduced when it was politically necessary, rather than for local economic reasons.

It is interesting to note that the final quarter of the sixth century is also the period in which Carradice has detected a gap in the minting of the contemporary

³²⁴ ACGC, p. 269.

³²⁵ See G.F. Hill, 'Some Notes on the Coinage of Cyprus', *Anatolian Studies Presented to William H. Buckler*, 1939, p. 90; See also A. Fol and N.G.L. Hammond, *CAH IV*, p. 252: who argues for the increase in coining during the Persian occupation of Thrace from 550 or 530, thus coining for the Persian market.

'Persian' issues, the so called 'Croeseids'.³²⁶ Could a cessation in the 'official' Persian mint have been impetus for the creation of a local coinage on Cyprus? There is certainly no evidence that Croeseids were in circulation in Cyprus itself; however, this contemporary phenomenon may have resulted in the Persian state permitting or even requiring some Persian territories to mint coinage.

C. King ... noki ... :

... *no-ki*... / smooth

and

E. King Mo...:

nominative Evelthon / ram's head *mo*...

Group C, with the obverse inscription ...*noki*..., has a smooth reverse type and appears only in the context of the early fifth century in the Asyut and Larnaca Hoards. As these coins are clearly produced from re-cut dies, an earlier inscription needed to be erased in order to substitute the new name. The only other obverse inscription with a smooth reverse is that of Evelthon written in the nominative case (Group B). It is thus probable that the authority named ...*noki*... was the immediate successor to the throne of Salamis after the death of Evelthon. As Group C does not incorporate the dynastic name of Evelthon, as on succeeding groups (D, F, I and J), it is equally probable that ...*noki*... had usurped the throne at some stage. On the other hand, it may just be that as he was the first successor of Evelthon, the practice had yet to be initiated.

The hoard evidence for Group C is important for the chronology of these coins. Group C coins are only found in Asyut and Larnaca and both include Cypriot material dating to c. 470 and before. Of the eight coins represented, only

³²⁶ I. Carradice, 'The 'Regal' Coinage of the Persian Empire', in I. Carradice (ed.), *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires*, 1987, p. 82.

two dies were used, thus suggesting that we have a good representation of this group from these two hoards. It is thus possible to suggest that the coins of Group C were not in circulation for a long time before or indeed after the burial of Asyut and Larnaca as they do not show up in any hoards hereafter.

The early date of Group C is strengthened by their fabric which is very similar to the early thick and dumpy coins produced by Evelthon (Group B) with a smooth reverse. The die study also indicates that this issue is well represented amongst existing collections today. Furthermore, it must also be noted that there is a strong possibility of a second issuing authority in this category as there is clearly a second inscription (*we- we*) on a recut die in the exact same fashion as the *...noki...* examples.

Hitherto, there has been no real conflict between the numismatic and documentary evidence; unfortunately, with the recut issues, this is no longer the case. Documentary evidence clearly reveals that Evelthon died sometime between c. 518 and 499, a span of only twenty years. Herodotus names three descendants in the Teucrid lineage (Chersis, Siromos and Gorgos), and we know that by 499 Evelthon's great-grandson was King of Salamis (see p. 210). Unfortunately, however, none of the three names listed can be identified with the inscription *...no-ki...* This, of course, strengthens the theory that *...noki...* could have been a usurper to the throne and not part of the legitimate dynastic house of Salamis. Unfortunately, there is no historical testimony for internal upheaval in the ruling house of Salamis until the Ionian Revolt.

Group E, the perplexing issue with the ram's head reverse, inscribed Mo... appears in both the Larnaca and Dali Hoards and has been dated by Hill to c. 480 - 450.³²⁷ Although the burial dates of these two hoards are approximately fifty years apart, there is a die link between the two hoards. One of the specimens,

³²⁷ BMC, p. 52.

(no. 266), has a dotted border and a palmette in the corner of the reverse. This coin, and indeed the group as a whole, has very significant similarities to a coin of Paphos found in the SE Persepolis deposit,³²⁸ with a controversially dated burial of c. 515. Although the original publication described the obverse type as a ram (Salamian issue), the Paphian coin has since been identified as a bull kneeling or running on the obverse and eagle's head reverse. Recently Masson³²⁹ (and Kagan³³⁰) have recognised the die link between the Persepolis coin and that of the Waddington Collection, which is in slightly better condition.

The similarities of type between our Mo... issues and that of the early Paphian coin cannot be ignored. Foremost is the reverse type of the eagle's head which is set out in exactly the same fashion as our ram's head, with the palmette included in the corner (pl. XLVI, L). Moreover, both issues exhibit a similar crude, thick and dumpy fabric with deep incuse square punches on the reverse.

One could postulate that Group E, when compared with the clearly sixth century Paphos specimen, should be dated much earlier than the hoard evidence suggests (*terminus ante quem* c. 470 - Larnaca), and place them possibly as early as the sixth century.

Although some scholars have used the Cypriot examples in the Persepolis Deposit to argue for a later date for the hoard,³³¹ these arguments must be rethought since many advanced Cypriot types can be dated with increasing

³²⁸ E. Herzfeld, 'Notes on the Achaemenid Coinage and Some Sassanian Mint-Names', *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, 1936, p. 414. Herzfeld identified the coin as a Salamis issue. Schmidt, pp. 110-113; Kagan, p. 37.

³²⁹ O. Masson, 'Notes de Numismatique chypriote, I. Les monnaies de Paphos (?) au type d'au Dieu-Fleuve', *Opus. Athen.* 8 (1968), pp. 112-116, and 'Notes de numismatique chypriote, VI. Encore les Monnaies de "Paphos" au Dieu-Fleuve on au Taureau', *RN* 1988, pp. 27-32.

³³⁰ Kagan, p. 29.

³³¹ M.C. Root, 'Evidence from Persepolis for the dating of Persian and Archaic Greek coinage', *NC* 1988, pp. 2-3; *Asyut*, p. 16; D. Stronach, 'The Apadana: a signature of the line of Darius I', *De l'Indus aux Balkans*, J.L. Huot, et al., (eds.), 1985, pp. 442-5.

confidence within the sixth century.³³² Clearly the same could be said for our ram's head reverse Mo... issue.

Consequently one must then ask where this group fits into the sequence of early issues. There is in Group E a coin with traces of an obverse inscription reading Evelthon in the nominative case; certainly this group must be placed before those written in the genitive case. Moreover, there is still no sign of the ground line on the obverse which appears regularly on later issues. Further, as this coin has adopted a full reverse type, one may assume that it was produced later than those with a smooth reverse (Groups A, B and C), and thus after those inscribed with the name of ...noki...

Both the ...noki... (Group C) and Mo... (Group E) issues are very problematic, especially as there is clearly a later series of ankh reverse coins with Evelthon's name written in the nominative case (Group D.II). Without the two intrusive series one would automatically assume that the ankh reverse was adopted during the reign of Evelthon (Groups DI and II) and the genitive (D.IV-) introduced immediately after his death.

A solution to this problem may be quite simple, though it must remain hypothetical as there is no documentary evidence to support it. One must consider the possibility that both the ...noki... and the Mo... groups were not produced by the official mint of Salamis. Our King ...noki... could have ruled in a different kingdom and used the dies of King Evelthon at his own mint. One must note here that the name of this king is used on its own and not in conjunction with the name of Evelthon, as is the later practice of the Salaminian mint. As suggested above, one may posit that ...noki... was not a member of the Teucrid dynasty and thus his coins represent a short period of expulsion of Evelthon or his legitimate successors.

³³² Kagan, pp. 38-39.

The possibility that the Mo..., Group E, coins were produced elsewhere is even stronger than the ...noki... issue. These coins, although having the name of Evelthon, abnormally incorporate a full reverse type at what may be a very early date. They also presumably introduce a new issuing authority as the reverse inscription indicates.

D.I and II. Unknown authority or Evelthon?:

nominative Evelthon / ankh

and

D.IV. Unknown authority:

genitive Evelthon / ankh

The appearance of smooth reverse types (Groups A, B and C) in the Larnaca Hoard as well as in hoards buried as late as c. 425, implies that these issues could have been in circulation well into the fifth century.³³³ It is likely that King Evelthon's successors, on the throne in the first quarter of the fifth century, introduced the ankh reverse.³³⁴ There is, however, the other possibility that Evelthon's death could have occurred after the introduction of the ankh reverse, as there is clearly a series of ankh reverse types with his name written in the nominative case (D.II) which precede those in the genitive (D.IV). This scheme, however, would leave no room for the ...noki... (C) and Mo... (E) issues, thus strengthening the suggestion that they were produced elsewhere.

It is without a doubt that the successors of King Evelthon issued coinage in his name posthumously. The reasons behind this assumption are many. The

³³³ Six 1883, p. 265, considered many of these issues to be posthumous; Six and Hill (*BMC*, p. lxxxviii) remind us that this practice was in use at Pergamum where the kings struck in the name of their ancestor, Philetairos. Six, however, goes too far in assuming that striking under Evelthon's name was a direct result of the successors becoming vassals of Persia in 525 B.C.

³³⁴ *BMC*, p. xc, dated far too many issues under the reign of Evelthon.

terminus ante quem for the end of the reign of Evelthon is c. 499, and as we shall see below, coinage with his name written in the genitive case (D.IV-) continues to be found in hoards buried well in the later decades of the fifth century, whereas those with the nominative case (D.II) only appear in the earlier hoards. The large number of coins with the nominative (mostly with smooth reverse) demonstrates that these issues were abundant and possibly lasted over a long period of time.

The coins with an ankh reverse and the obverse inscription in the nominative (D.II) present two types of ankh. The die study indicates that those with the *ba* or blank centre of the ankh (D.I) precede those with a *ku* centre (D.II, IV). A close examination of the fabric further reveals that the nominative/ankh series (D.II) uses much smaller reverse punches thus producing much thicker and dumper flans, than their later counterparts with the inscription in the genitive (D.IV).

As with their nominative counterparts, the genitive/ankh coins (D.IV) appear in the Larnaca Hoard (c. 470), thus placing them well within the first quarter of the fifth century.

The fabric of the series with genitive inscription (D.IV) is similar to the nominative ankh (D.II) series with dies o1-r1 having small incuse squares and thick and dumpy flans. With dies o2-o3, however, the incuse punch expands thus producing a broader, flatter and visibly rounder specimen.

The use of the genitive could imply some sort of dynastic interpretation – 'of the dynasty of Evelthon,' i.e. a posthumous reference.³³⁵ On the other hand, the issuers may have simply been influenced by contemporary ethnics elsewhere in the Greek world, almost everywhere using the genitive; this certainly would

³³⁵ See also discussion by Kraay & Moorey, p. 216.

have been the case if the change was made during the reign of Evelthon himself.³³⁶

As there is no documentary evidence for either Siromos or Chersis having been in power at Salamis, the fact that their names do not appear on the coins of the city should not concern us. Herodotus has, however, left us a considerable amount of information on the reigns of Evelthon's supposed great-grandsons Gorgos and Onesilos who can both be securely dated to the events surrounding 499 and Gorgos even later to c. 479 (see p. 212). It is curious that such a powerful figure as Gorgos did not issue coins in his own name. It has been suggested that the issues with the additional reverse syllables of *ki*, *ke*, and *ko-ru* belong to this dynast, yet these specimens only appear in hoards from c. 425 onward.

The majority of the hoard evidence for the nominative/ankh (D.II) and genitive/ankh (D.IV, without additional symbols) issues is from the Asyut and Larnaca Hoards. As both date to the 470s, one should not overlook contemporary events. It has been suggested that Darius and Xerxes produced vast quantities of 'regal' coinage in the early fifth century in order to facilitate the hiring of mercenaries for their European campaigns.³³⁷ If this is indeed the case, it then follows that Gorgos' contribution to Xerxes' advance may also account for these plentiful early fifth century Salaminian issues.

D. V-VII. genitive Evelthon / ankh (*ki*, *ke*, *ko-ru* and *Ba Eu*)

The very rare coins in this series which incorporate added syllables on the reverse field are perplexing to say the least. While the consistent use of the name of Evelthon inscribed in the genitive on the obverse and close similarities to the

³³⁶ Evidence for use of the nominative case early on at Abdera, ACGC, p. 153.

³³⁷ I. Carradice, 'The 'Regal' Coinage of the Persian Empire', in I. Carradice (ed.), *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires*, 1987, p. 92.

genitive/ankh series (D.IV) leads one to include them within this group, questions do arise.

Firstly, compared to Series D.IV, there is a marked evolution in fabric with the *ki*, *ke* and *ko-ru* issues. These coins are very similar to, or even more broad than dies o2-o3 discussed above. The same is true for the small series with the *Ba-si Eu* (D.VIII) inscription which also seems to have a comparatively refined fabric.

Secondly, none of these rare specimens appear alongside the plain genitive/ankh (D.IV) coins in the large Larnaca Hoard dating c. 470, and do not in fact appear until the Dali and Massyaf hoards, both dating to c. 425. Moreover, they appear in a hoard dated as late as c. 375 (Malayer).

As the obverse inscription is written in the genitive case, like their more simple predecessors discussed above (D.IV), it may be assumed that this series was issued after the death of Evelthon. However, this is the first instance where Evelthon's name is coupled with that of a possible alternate issuing authority. None of the syllables can be attributed with any certainty to any known ruler at Salamis, although we must assume that this is the intended purpose of the syllable for two reasons; firstly, there is no evidence that any magistrate names or symbols were added to any Salaminian (or Cypriot) issues until the fourth century, all numismatic inscriptions throughout the fifth century at Salamis being references to the king himself (Evelthon, and see below for Phausis, Nikodamos - although here exceptions apply - and Evanthes); secondly, the practice of using one or two syllables as an abbreviation for a king's name and title is not only common at the mint of Salamis (coins with a *ba* syllable reverse and *e* syllable on fractions and later issues of Evanthes), but other Cypriot mints as well, including Idalium (King Ki) and Paphos (King A and King Pn-u).

F. King Phausis:

Evelthon (and Phausis) / ankh Phausis

G. Unknown authority:

illegible inscription / *ba* ankh *u sa*

H. King Timile?:

ti-mi-le ram / *ba* ankh *te*

I. King Nikodamos:

genitive Evelthon (and Nikodamos) / ankh

and

J. King Evanthes:

Evanthes / ram's head

Phausis (Group F), Nikodamos (Group I), and Evanthes (Group J) are only represented by one coin each within hoards, and unfortunately all three hoards concerned have very late burial dates and are thus of little help chronologically. It is therefore necessary to make chronological decisions by looking at the fabric of these three groups, and the progression is quite evident. The flans of Group F are quite similar to many of those of Evelthon written in the genitive case (D.IV); some specimens have rather thick flans, but the very shallow reverse incuse reveals some progression. Also on the obverse type of King Phausis (F) there is almost always a ground line added (except for those with the Evelthon inscribed obverse, F.I, which therefore are likely to be dies used for earlier series). The ground line will appear consistently in succeeding issues.

Although the chronological placement of Groups G and H can at present only be estimated, the two coins which represent unknown issuing authorities are similar in many ways to the coins of Group F, King Phausis. No. 289 (Group G) with the *ba* centre to the ankh displays the practice of utilising the four corners

of the incuse square for the reverse inscription. As this practice is not introduced before Group F, and so it is logical to place this example with the syllables *u* and *sa* on the reverse close to the reign (either before or after) of Phausis.

The second uncertain coin, no. 290 (Group H), also belongs to this period because of its similarities in fabric to the coins of Group F. The introduction of a new obverse inscription is also found on the coins of Phausis and the use of the *ba* syllable in the centre of the ankh is common on the coins of Group F. Unlike the previous uncertain example, however, this coin does not incorporate four syllables on the reverse, but fewer, at least a *te* to the left of the ankh.

With the coins of Nikodamos (Group I) one can see a clear progression to a more circular and flatter flan, while the coins of Evanthes (Group J) are very advanced, with refined flat surfaces and reverse types which incorporate an incuse circle. It is evident from fabric comparison that the Group F issues should precede those of Group I and Group J.³³⁸

While the hoard evidence is bleak for these last three kings, documentary evidence is non-existent. Phausis, Nikodamos and Evanthes are only known through their coinages, thus making the numismatic material paramount in the reconstruction of the Teucrid dynasty after the reign of Gorgos.

With the coins of King Phausis (Group F) one notes the introduction of some important characteristics of the mint. With the possible exception of King Mo... (Group E), Phausis is the first king to clearly use his full name in conjunction with that of Evelthon (F.I). King Nikodamos (Group I) also uses the dynastic name of Evelthon on at least one issue of staters (I.IV). It must be noted, however, that with both authorities, the use of the dynastic name is rare, as there is only one die known from each. Also, although it is not the first appearance of the practice, Phausis is the first consistently to incorporate a full reverse

³³⁸ BMC, p. xci, also saw these as early types.

inscription by utilising the corners of the incuse square; the custom is continued on the coins of Nikodamos (I.I. *Salamini* and I.II. *Kalarita*). With the coins of Nikodamos one sees the only use of the city's ethnic (I.I) ever used in the Archaic and Classical coinage of Salamis.

Phausis also introduced the full title *basileus* to the obverse and reverse types (F.II-V). We may note the differences in the spelling of the title as Phausis uses both the *o* syllable (*ba-si-le-o*) and the digamma (*ba-si-le-wo*). Nikodamos (Group I), on the other hand, only uses *wo*. This should not be seen as simple evolution, however, as Evagoras I clearly uses both spellings in his fourth century coinages (see below).

In regard to iconography, Group F introduces two adjunct symbols which are of note. Firstly, the winged disk on the coins of Phausis is not repeated by any Salaminian king. On the other hand, the added barley symbol on the obverse of some specimens is repeated by both Nikodamos in the fifth and Evagoras I in the fourth century.

Symbolic motifs develop further with the coins of Nikodamos (Group I) where the *ba* syllable is incorporated into the lower half of the ankh symbol. This manipulation of motif and syllabic is a perfect example of the mint's unusual and inventive use of symbolism.

King Evanthes' (Group J) most noted numismatic contribution was the use of a different reverse type. One cannot classify the type as new, however, as one example of the ram's head reverse is known under King Nikodamos (I.IV). Furthermore, a more archaic version of the ram's head was used much earlier on the coinages of Group E, and we can only assume that this earlier group influenced the choice of types for both Nikodamos and Evanthes. The hoard evidence strengthens this argument as a coin of King Mo... (E) appears in a hoard buried as late as c. 425.

As stated previously, the names of Phaasis, Nikodamos and Evanthes are not known to us in the textual evidence. There is, however, a great deal of documentary evidence that may suggest possible shifts in political control after the reign of Gorgos. It may be safe to assume that Gorgos lost his throne in or slightly before 478 (see p. 212 ff.).³³⁹ We know that Gorgos reigned as late as 480 as he is listed as commander-in-chief of the Cypriot forces fighting on the Persian side in the battle of Salamis (see p. 212). After the Persian defeat, however, the allied Greek forces swiftly made their way to Cyprus and took control of the island (see p. 212). It is difficult to believe that such a pro-Persian supporter as Gorgos would have retained his throne after Persian control was lifted. While a change could have ushered in the reign of one of the other issuing authorities listed above (i.e. D.V-VII, *ke*, *ki* or *ko-ru*), it could equally mark the commencement of the reign of King Phaasis (Group F).

The next firm evidence for Persian control at Salamis is not until c. 450 when the city is occupied by a Persian garrison (see p. 218). It is, however, evident that Salamis lost its freedom sometime early in the 450s. As we have seen, the *Persae* (891-2) presents strong evidence that Salamis was free of Persian control six years after the island was freed from Persia (472). Many scholars have cited the date of 468 for the loss of freedom since Persian ships were based on Cyprus at that time.³⁴⁰ This argument is, however, flawed as it is quite possible that parts of Cyprus always remained loyal to Persia while others attained self-government. There is no reason why the Persian ships of 468 could not have been based at Citium alone.

In 459/8 Greek troops were again (or still?) fighting in Cyprus, but evidently vacated the island quickly after to assist Inaros in Egypt against his

³³⁹ Stylianou, p. 441 'Some of the kings, pro-Persian die-hards, are likely to have lost their thrones, but the sources are silent and no dynastic changes are reflected in the island's bewildering varieties of coinage at this time.'

³⁴⁰ See note 278.

current Persian aggressor, Artaxerxes I (see p. 220). The subsequent defeat of Greek troops in Egypt (454) may have led to further if not total loss of freedom within the island itself as it is likely that Artaxerxes then held complete sway over the eastern Mediterranean. Thus, 454 could be the date at which Salamis shifted back to Persian control.

Although Cimon succeeded in re-conquering a large part of Cyprus for the allied forces in c. 450, Salamis was never freed from Persian rule as Cimon died and Greek forces vacated Cyprus before the siege of Salamis was complete (see p. 219). The peace (formal or otherwise) that ensued after the Greek departure ensured no more mainland intervention in Cyprus for the rest of the century.

Any of these shifts (or none at all) could have led to the ascension of Kings Phausis (F), Nikodamos (I) and/or Evanthes (J). The coins themselves may give us some clues. One of the major differences between the coinage of these three kings is the variety in the output of denominations. From the extant evidence, King Phausis (Group F) principally minted larger denominations since the majority of the extant coins are staters, with a few sixths. On the other hand, the extant coins of King Nikodamos (Group I) include only three staters but dozens of thirds, a few sixths and many smaller denominations. The coinage of Evanthes (Group J), like Group F, is again not wholly balanced as only staters and sixths are known.

One may conclude from this evidence that Nikodamos was not in need of larger denominations. Could it be that he was not paying tribute to either Persia or Athens? As such payment is a possible reason for commencement of coinage in the sixth century; coupled with the fact that the coinage of that time period seems to be dominated by larger denominations – there is reason to believe that there was a shift in the utilisation of coinage in the reign of Nikodamos.

Hill, among others,³⁴¹ postulated that c. 450, the Teucrid dynasty was overthrown by a Phoenician exile³⁴² (see Chapter Three, p. 318 ff.). Needless to say the chronology here is very precarious. It is quite clear that Salamis was in the hands of Persia well before the arrival of Cimon. Thus there is no reason to assume that there would be any impetus for a usurpation of the throne after the allied departure. Hill³⁴³ further states that the later issues of Nikodamos (I), Lacharidas (a misreading) and Evanthes (J) could have been minted in exile, and that the *ba ku* on the coins of Evanthes could stand for king of Chytri. Maier dates the usurpation to the 430s.³⁴⁴

In my opinion, there is no need to assume that the reigns of Nikodamos and Evanthes occurred before the middle of the century, or indeed in exile.³⁴⁵ The hoard evidence dates the issues which immediately precede Phausis (F) and Nikodamos (I) between 480 and the later fifth century, while the hoard with the Phausis specimen dates to c. 400 and the hoards containing coins of Nikodamos (I) and Evanthes (J) date to the early fourth century.

The traditional problem has been to allow time for three Phoenician rulers to sit on the throne prior to Evagoras I. According to Isocrates (Isoc. 9.26; Diod. 14.98) there were two Phoenicians consecutively on the throne of Salamis before a third Phoenician usurper, Abdemon of Tyre,³⁴⁶ who was ruling when Evagoras I seized the throne in c. 415 (see p. 319 ff. for dates). This succession of rulers, however, need not push the coinage of Nikodamos and Evanthes into the

³⁴¹ Hill 1940, p. 125; Stylianou, p. 409.

³⁴² Isoc. *Evag.* 11.19-20.

³⁴³ Hill 1940, p. 125, n. 4.

³⁴⁴ Maier, *CAH VI*, 2nd ed., p. 309.

³⁴⁵ Stylianou, p. 406, after *BMC*, p. xcii ff and *ICS* no. 323, dates the reign of Nikodamos to the second quarter of the fifth century.

³⁴⁶ Diod. 14.98; Theopompus said he was from Citium; Hill 1940 is correct, p. 127 n. 1 in refuting Beloch (Beloch, III, 2i, p. 38, n. 2 and ii, p. 99) and Meyer's (Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, v, 3, 1901, p. 199) suggestions that Abdemon was the king of Citium at the time. For Abdemon see F.L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, 1972.

first half of the century, as it is quite possible that these periods of usurpation were quite rapid.³⁴⁷

One further element should not be overlooked. Within the fields of a stater of Nikodamos (no. 335) and a 12th of Evanthes (no. 352) one notices the inclusion of a small detail, a one-handled pitcher. A comparison with another mint may be important for our chronology as this rare detail is also included on Paphian coins of Stasandros (whose coins are found in the Celenderis Hoard, H.22) and Mineos (whose coins are found in the early fourth century Vouni Hoard³⁴⁸), thus dating these Paphian monarchs well within the second half of the fifth century.

After the overthrow of the Teucrid dynasty, during the reign of the Phoenicians, Isocrates paints a dark picture (Isoc. *Evag.* 20, 29-30, 47, 49), claiming that there was a reaction against all things Greek. Archaeology presents a different picture altogether, since Attic imports to the island and indeed Salamis itself show a definite upsurge during the second half of the fifth century (see p. 325, n. 147). The reasons for this contradiction are twofold. Firstly we must take into account Isocrates' intentions in writing the *Evagoras*. There is little doubt that Isocrates has a strong bias toward Hellenism and against the Phoenician barbarian. Secondly there are the conditions of the second half of the fifth century to consider. On Cyprus, the first half of the century was filled with one imposing power after another forcing their way in. Needless to say, this was obviously a period of great upheaval on the island with probably little chance of developing or even maintaining overseas trade contacts.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁷ Although his evidence is dubious (Isoc. *Evag.*, 20, 29-30, 47, 49) Isocrates certainly described inner turmoil within the city of Salamis during this time period.

³⁴⁸ W. Schwabacher, 'The coins of the Vouni Treasure Reconsidered', *NRC*, 12 (1981), pp. 39-40.

³⁴⁹ Maier, p. 37-38 is however correct in pointing out that this was the time (470-60) when very fine works of Classical Greek art 'arrived' on the island, i.e. the Chatsworth Apollo and the marble kouros head from Lapethus, and local Cypriot sculpture of the second quarter of the fifth century is seemingly inspired by the contemporary 'severe style'; N. Weill, 'Une tête de kouros

Assumptions drawn from what we know of the circulation of the coins of Salamis may assist with our conclusions. In the late sixth and early fifth centuries coins of Cyprus travelled widely throughout the eastern Mediterranean. By the middle of the fifth century, however, the picture changes significantly. Firstly, the number of Cypriot issues included in hoards found outside of Cyprus decreases; secondly, Cypriot coinage travelled in vast numbers to Egypt during the first half of the fifth century, while finds dating to the second half are rare indeed. It must be noted, however, that vast quantities of Athenian coins were still making their way to Egypt. Could this be direct evidence of the presence of Cypriot troops in Egypt during the first half of the century? Alternatively, it may be that trade with Egypt slowed dramatically after the mid-fifth.

The iconographic and archaeological evidence point to other changes in external relations and influences during the fifth century. The iconography of the coins of Salamis adopted in the late sixth century may well be influenced by Egyptian or indeed Phoenician symbolism. As discussed in the section on iconography, the Salaminian types and adjunct symbols are often adaptations of eastern attributes of royal power and sovereignty. The fact that these types and symbols rarely change throughout the whole of the fifth century should not come as a surprise since the very conservative nature of the coinage is shown by the use of the dynastic name of Evelthon well after the end of his reign. The one change of type (the introduction of the ram's head reverse, in place of the ankh, on the coins of Evanthes), which may be dated to the second half of the fifth

archaïque à Salamine de Chypre', *Salamine de Chypre*, IV, 1973, p. 78; Maier, *CAH* VI, p. 312: regarding *Evag.* 47: 'such measures were not prompted by a 'barbarization' of Salamis under Phoenician rule, as alleged by Isocrates; no decline in the arts and material culture of Salamis or Cyprus is to be observed during this period. Evagoras' basic aim was to increase the power of his kingdom.'

century, may suggest the growing influence of the western Greek artistic tradition, away from the very symbolic ankh with its Egyptian origins. This, of course, may be a result of the growing influx of Attic pottery (or other Greek iconography) in Cyprus during the second half of the fifth century.